

THE ART BULLETIN

A QUARTERLY

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THE COLLEGE ART ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

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THE STATUTES OF THE VENETIAN *ARTI* AND THE MOSAICS OF THE MASCOLI CHAPEL

MICHELANGELO MURARO

FOR several years I had been observing the change of opinion regarding the authorship of the mosaics of the Mascoli Chapel, when the Fondazione Giorgio Cini entrusted me with the task of photographing the famous cycle, permitting me to choose the details.¹

My interest was immediately drawn, not only to the characteristics of the decoration in the restored sections, but also to the stylistic differences encountered in the various parts. Since I was disposed to accept the opinion of those scholars who saw in the Mascoli mosaics the intervention of non-Venetian masters, I tried to account for and justify the presence of these foreign artists. I therefore proceeded to collect the evidence that will be considered in the present article, the greater part of which relates to the operation of the Venetian corporations, including that of the *Arte dei depentori*. From the documents here presented it will be possible to take a small step forward in the comprehension of the Mascoli cycle, which is one of the most admired yet at the same time most controversial works of the Venetian Quattrocento. I shall not analyze in detail the old attributions nor propose new ones, but rather shall restrict myself to a different method of approaching the mosaics, on the basis of hitherto little-tried principles applicable not only to the Mascoli Chapel but also to other works of Venetian art that have so far resisted traditional methods of criticism. The method here adopted is to consider these mosaics as the product of the Venetian *arti*, which were in a certain way subject to the same laws as other crafts. In my text and notes I shall transcribe notices and documents which refer to various periods and various kinds of crafts besides painting. This inclusion of what might seem extraneous material is not arbitrary because, as we shall see, all of the *arti* were subject to one basic law, which was observed not merely in limited periods but continued in force until the fall of the Republic. Thus, for example, the statutes transcribed in the eighteenth century were simply copies of ones already centuries old. We must take into consideration the exception to this situation because of the elasticity of Venetian law; but it remains a fact that generally, in Venice, there existed an atmosphere and a system which protected the Venetian artists and put foreigners both practically and psychologically at a disadvantage. I am aware that some readers will be disturbed by concentration on apparently secondary aspects that are admittedly unrelated to the poetic values of art. Yet I shall be satisfied to remove the scholarly dust which has settled on this problem during the last century, and hope that in the future it will be possible better to evaluate and to develop in all their aspects the relations between artistic production and the laws and usages that governed it. If in certain periods the limitations imposed by the laws governing the *arti* were less evident, we can say that for the first half of the Quattrocento we are especially fortunate because of the survival of documents contemporary with the Mascoli mosaics.

1. Venice, Istituto di Storia dell'Arte della Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Negative nos. 1876-1937. Photographer: Fiorentini.

In addition to the details of the series of photographs published here, see also those reproduced in G. Fiocco, *L'Arte di Andrea Mantegna*, Venice, 1959, and F. Hartt, "The Earliest

Works of Andrea del Castagno," *ART BULLETIN*, XLI, 1959, pp. 159-181 and 225-236.

I extend sincere thanks to the Procuratoria di San Marco and to those mosaicists who have worked at San Marco for years and who helped me in the study of the restored parts of the mosaics.

ORIGIN OF THE CHAPEL

Let us first summarize briefly the history of the Mascoli Chapel, emphasizing the points that interest us.² After the fire of 1419 that laid waste San Marco—set probably by an arsonist—a radical restoration of the church became necessary, compelling the Republic to take emergency measures.³ At that time the city was passing through a period of special prosperity (besides the miracle of the Ducal Palace there were rising such marvelous edifices as the Ca' d'Oro, built by private initiative), and the Doge Francesco Foscari could not permit the mother church of the Venetians to remain in a state of anything less than the proper dignity. He had assumed office in 1423 and, having initiated a policy of expansion on the mainland, he had become the equal in power and pomp of the Italian princes with whom he had to deal.

Anticipating the period of crisis of ancient institutions that was to culminate with the Barbarigo,⁴ Foscari stimulated all those aspects of social and political life that are necessary not to the head of a republic but to a real prince. Receptions and ceremonies glittered in the Palace, the Piazza, and the Bacino di San Marco, but especially beneath the solemn vaults of the church that had witnessed so much history. During the dogeship of the Foscari the Council of the *Pregadi* decreed that, in order to preserve San Marco *in culmine et in maxima veneratione*, all galleys setting sail from Venice pay as tribute 200 pounds of processed wax to the *Procuratori de Supra*.⁵

Francesco Foscari was to remain in power thirty-four years until he was forced (for the Venetians were fearful of losing their liberty) to abdicate on October 23, 1457. It was during this period that the events we shall study in this article took place.

It seems to me that scholars have always neglected an occurrence that, besides demonstrating anew what political troubles were encountered by the Doge, is also probably intimately connected with the construction of the Mascoli Chapel. On March 11, 1430, a ruffian, undoubtedly hired by the patrician Andrea Contarini, the fierce leader of the party opposed to Foscari, had attempted to stab the Doge while he was going from the palace to the church, and had injured his mouth and hands. The theory we propose is that the *cappella nova* was built in pious acknowledgement to the Madonna that the Doge's life had been spared.⁶ The name of Francesco Foscari and the year 1430 are in fact inscribed on a tablet in the Mascoli Chapel together with the names of Bartolomeo Donato, elected *Procuratore* in 1427, and Leonardo Mocenigo, *Procuratore de Supra* since 1418.

2. Known first as the Cappella della Madonna, or the Cappella Nova, it did not receive its present name until 1618, when it was taken over by the Confraternita dei Mascoli. It is interesting to note that the chapel was never known by the name of the Foscari, though it had been built by a member of that family. Moreover I do not believe it was ever called the Cappella di San Marco (cf. G. Fiocco, *op.cit.*, p. 109).

The Mascoli Chapel is one step above the level of the pavement of the church. The mosaic decorations are found on the barrel vault and on the lunette above the altar. The walls of the chapel are covered with slabs of oriental jasper, Greek marble, and bands of Veronese red. The pavement is not of mosaic but in squares of white and red marble. The entrance balustrade shows the same design as the mosaics on the left wall. The dimensions are: depth, 7.11m; breadth, 4.21m; maximum height, 7.95m; height from the pavement to the springing of the vaults, 4.25m.

3. "La mattina seguente fo mandado per tuti li notabili maestri de Venetia e fo provvisto a la ditta chiesia e refatto le ditte chube [i.e. cupole] molto più forte et notabilissime più che de prima, et costò la ditta spesa ducati XVI m: che messer Domenedio la guardi de contrarij simili casi" ("Cronaca Dolfin," *La Basilica di San Marco*, Venice, 1888, p. 207).

But the fire of March 6, 1419, had caused such serious damage, the extent of which was not immediately apparent,

that it required decades of restoration at an enormous expense. "Ipsa Ecclesia," is written in documents of the sixth decade, "ibit in desolationem sicut omnes videre et intelligere possunt, nisi fiat bona et celeris provvisio ad fortificationem et reparationem" (*Documenti per la storia . . . di San Marco*, Venice, 1886, p. 17).

4. M. Muraro, "La Scala senza Giganti," *De Artibus opuscula XL, Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*, New York, 1961, pp. 350-370.

In connection with the ambition of this prince one is reminded that his predecessor, the Doge Tommaso Mocenigo, before his death, exhorted the Venetians not to elect Francesco Foscari, for fear he would drag them into war and cause the impoverishment of the state (A. Da Mosto, *I Dogi di Venezia*, Venice, 1939, p. 110).

5. For this and other provisions see *La Basilica di San Marco*, pp. 32 and 207.

6. The attempted assassination and the dismissal are not the only signs of the difficulties encountered by Foscari during his dogeship; three times he was on the point of abdicating, but was always prevented from doing so by the *Senato*, which would have feared him more outside the palace.

For the attack on Foscari see F. Berlan, *I due Foscari*, Turin, 1852.

MCCCCXXX • DUCANTE INCLITO DOMINO
 FRANCISCO FOSCARO PROCURATORIBUS SANCTI MARCI D • D
 LEONARDO MOCENIGO ET
 BARTHOLOMAEO DONATO HAEC CAPELLA CONDITA FUIT •

This inscription is generally considered to stand in witness of the inauguration of the chapel, which has smooth walls and no particular architectonic element or detail, except for two simple splayed windows and a cornice with Gothic foliage that separates the walls from the barrel vault (Fig. 1).

On the day of its inauguration the votive chapel was perhaps covered with hangings and temporary decorations, like those described in various documents; but more probably it was already ornamented with the same subjects we see today, executed not in mosaic but as temporary wall paintings (*sinopie*), as was customarily done before proceeding to mosaic.⁷ Also, the sculptured altarpiece in Gothicizing style, still in the Mascoli Chapel (Fig. 2), was already in place. It was formerly attributed to Michele Giambono, then to a follower of the Dalle Masegne, called the *Maestro dei Mascoli*, and finally to Giovanni Bon, father of Bartolomeo.⁸

The work on the mosaic revetment, begun immediately after the inauguration, continued beyond 1449 and, as we shall see, was completed after 1451, the year of the expulsion of the Tuscans from Venice. In 1449 there was a theft in the Treasury; as the old sources testify, the thief had hidden himself in the scaffolding of the Mascoli Chapel, where the work was evidently still in progress.⁹ In any case, the execution of the mosaics lasted about thirty years;¹⁰ this is evident on the basis of style. But what is more important to us is that these works permit us to follow the successive and laborious stages by which Venice succeeded in advancing to the Renaissance.

MICHELE GIAMBONO IN THE MASCOLI CHAPEL

Now we come to one of our main arguments: to which artist goes the credit for the mosaics of the Mascoli Chapel? Up to a century ago no one had ever asked himself this question, because the mosaics are "signed." On the left wall one can in fact read: "MICHAEL ZAMBONO VENETUS FECIT," while in the corner of the right wall we can see written in the same letters, as if in confirmation: "FECIT."¹¹

7. M. Muraro, *Pitture murali venete e tecnica dell'affresco*, Venice, 1960, p. 77.

On the temporary decoration for rooms that had just been completed see also M. Urzi, "I pittori registrati negli Statuti delle fraglia padovana dell'anno 1441," *Archivio veneto*, XII, 1933, p. 235.

The decoration of the Mascoli Chapel consists of scenes from the life of the Virgin; according to L. Testi (*La Storia della pittura veneziana*, Bergamo, 1915, II, p. 35) this is the first time that the subject appears in Venice.

8. The earliest attribution is by F. Sansovino, who assigned the sculpture of the altar to Giambono himself (*Venezia città nobilissima*, ed. Martinioni, Venice, 1604, p. 99). The sculptured altarpiece, which shows the Virgin and Child between SS. Mark and John Evangelist, and the altar frontal, showing two angels with censers, have recently been discussed by G. Mariacher, "Appunti per un profilo della scultura gotica veneziana," *Atti dell'Istituto Veneto*, 1950-51, IX, p. 225, and by J. Pope-Hennessy, *Italian Gothic Sculpture*, London, 1955, p. 59.

9. M. Sanudo, "Vite dei duchi," *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, Milan, 1733, p. 1132; the same notice but more exact and detailed in S. Magno, *Cronaca*, Venice, Marciana, VII, Cod. 516, IV, c. 16.

No other documents connected with the work on the Mascoli Chapel have been found. The material in the archives of the

Procuratoria de Supra (responsible for the work in the church) refers only to the period after 1485; fires destroyed the earlier records.

10. Stringa (*Venezia del Sansovino . . . corretta, emendata . . .*, Venice, 1604, p. 56) and others after him affirm that the work on the Mascoli Chapel lasted thirty years; therefore, between 1430 and 1460. This second date has raised much discussion, for some writers maintain that they had seen it on the mosaics, in an unspecified place. Unfortunately, not only has the date disappeared but, because of a printer's error (L. Testi, *op.cit.*, II, p. 38), or a mistake in reading, it has been interpreted in various ways: 1450, 1460, 1490.

11. I do not believe, as has often been affirmed, that the "fecit" on the right wall is a fragment of a longer inscription. A larger label would have been placed at the feet of the last apostle at the right, which is not possible. It is not to be excluded, as was rightly suggested by Testi (*op.cit.*, p. 57), that this type of "signature" is similar to that placed by Titian on his *Annunciation of San Salvador: Titianus Fecit Fecit*. The repetition would be used to confirm the official position of Michele Giambono and his responsibility to the state for the entire decoration, from the beginning at the left through to the completion on the right.

A. M. Zanetti (*Della pittura veneziana*, Venice, 1771, p. 566), though noting the Renaissance character of the Mascoli mosaics, had no thought for the controversial "signature" of

Since today no one believes any longer that these mosaics belong only to Michele Giambono, an attempt to interpret the historical and critical problems connected with the Mascoli Chapel must examine carefully the following points: why did Giambono (and only he) sign the mosaics; which parts can be recognized as by his hand (Fig. 5), and which are executed by other mosaicists on the basis of his cartoons and drawings (Fig. 6); did other Venetian masters collaborate (Figs. 7, 8, 9, and 10); which are the zones of the mosaics that were redone during the restorations (Fig. 4); and, finally, what were the contributions of foreign masters to the Mascoli Chapel (Figs. 11, 12, 13, and 14).

The choice of photographs reproduced here, together with those that appeared earlier (ART BULLETIN, xli, 2, 1959), illustrating F. Hartt's study, is intended to bring to the reader's attention the number and kind of styles (including restorations) that can be identified in the mosaics of the Mascoli Chapel.

It is only with the beginnings of modern art criticism, i.e., with Cavalcaselle, that some doubts concerning the significance of the "signature" of Giambono began to be raised. However, that great scholar did not have the courage to publish his impressions of a direct examination of the work, but his notes and the comments on his drawings, preserved at the Marciana, show that he had identified the presence of Tuscan masters in Venice before the appearance of any documents proving this.¹² A notable advance in this direction was made in 1898 by Thode,¹³ who spoke of Andrea del Castagno twenty years before the appearance of the famous signature of San Tarasio.

We need not pause here to consider the information I have been able to collect concerning the many restorations,¹⁴ which are often easily visible in the photographs (Fig. 4); let us try instead to concentrate first on Michele Giambono.

Michele Giambono: "Michele Giambono . . . fu il primo che si ripartisse in tutto dall'antica maniera e seguisse i modi dei più accreditati pittori di allora. Si servì di un disegno che piega al miglior gusto dei Vivarini e con tant'arte e diligenza lo ridusse in mosaico, che difficilmente opera più degna io potrò mostrare in questa chiesa."

12. M. Muraro, "Sulle vie del Cavalcaselle restaurando affreschi," *Studies in the History of Art Dedicated to W. Suida*, London, 1959, p. 130.

The papers referring to the Mascoli Chapel (G. B. Cavalcaselle, *Manoscritti*, Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Lascito Cavalcaselle) are 42-44 of box no. 12277. On the drawings of the mosaics to the right I read, among other things: "pare Angelico e Benozzo; i caratteri delle teste del Vecchietto e del Sano di Pietro." Next to the figures of SS. Peter and John in the *Death of the Virgin* he writes: "mossa fiorentina"; of the frieze medallions: "bellissime teste—antichità classica." I believe that these notes were made by Cavalcaselle on the occasion of his visit to San Marco in 1865. There are no traces of this research effort and fortunate intuition in his printed work (J. A. Crowe and G. B. Cavalcaselle, *A History of the Painting of North Italy*, ed. T. Borenius, London, 1912, I, p. 14); doubt is expressed as to the authorship of Giambono only in the case of the *Visitation* and the *Death of the Virgin*.

13. H. Thode, "Andrea Castagno in Venedig," in *Festschrift für Otto Benndorf*, Vienna, 1899, p. 307.

Following the publications of Thode and Schmarsow, the mosaics of the Mascoli Chapel underwent diverse attributions. See the works of Fiocco and Hartt quoted above, and M. Salmi, *Paolo Uccello, Andrea del Castagno e Domenico Veneziano*, Milan, 1938, p. 158.

14. In order to correct the irregularity of the perimetric structure, the Mascoli Chapel has thick walls, quite exceptional for Venice; for this reason there has been very little settling, and on the whole the mosaics here are better preserved than in the rest of the church.

Much has been said about their restoration. According to Fiocco, who goes back to Venturi's hypothesis (L. Venturi, *Le origini della pittura veneziana*, Venice, 1906, p. 93), all

the decoration on the right (the *Visitation* and the *Death of the Virgin*) is a restoration of 1454 based on the original of Giambono, of which only a fragment showing the group of apostles above the inscription "FECIT" had remained (*op.cit.*, p. 108). Saccardo (*Les Mosaïques de Saint Marc à Venise*, Venice, 1896, p. 35) speaks of the serious restorations these mosaics have suffered and points out the restored parts on the basis of documentary evidence.

In conclusion, I believe, one must not be too suspicious when studying the Mascoli Chapel, and that some authors have exaggerated in seeing alteration and restoration even where they do not exist.

It is always difficult to discriminate, and in order to reach a result it is necessary to consider the quality of the mosaic tesserae (which differ throughout the centuries) and the technique with which they are applied, rather than questions of style. The presence of stucco between the tesserae reveals among other things the intervention of a restorer; the darkening of the marble tesserae (which were usually used for flesh parts) shows they were applied on an oil-base stucco, unknown in the Quattrocento (Saccardo, *op.cit.*, p. 107); the variations of color in the joints almost always reveal a restoration since it is practically impossible to find identical materials to use; the predominance of tesserae with a vitreous glaze for the flesh parts denotes a late execution (*ibid.*, p. 106); differences in level almost always testify to a restoration, since, as Gerola states (*La tecnica dei restauri ai mosaici di Ravenna*, Bologna, 1917), it is almost impossible to calculate correctly the level for the support of the new patches.

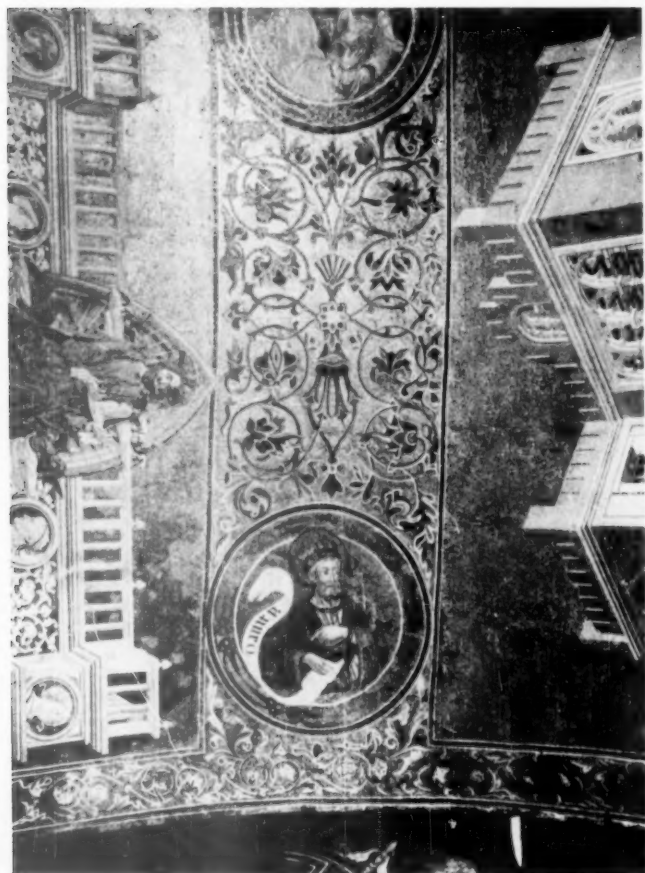
It is interesting to see that the points mentioned as restored in the documents and by Saccardo generally coincide with those noted by Cavalcaselle in his drawings in the Marciana. In the *Birth of the Virgin* and the *Presentation* Saccardo delineates the restored parts and writes: "Questa parte centrale, rifatte le figure; la Madonna senza forme e sentimento. Azzurro e abito, verde rifatto male. Rosso lacca scuro, credo rifatto." For the mosaics on the right wall, next to a figure from the *Visitation*, he asks: "che sia rifatta anticamente?" He is also not sure that the two figures of SS. Peter and John in the *Death of*



1. The Mascoli Chapel, Venice, San Marco



2. Venetian Sculptor of 1430, Triptych
Venice, San Marco, Mascoli Chapel



3. Michele Giambono, Vault mosaic in the Mascoli Chapel
Venice, San Marco



4. Reworked mosaic (detail from *Presentation in the Temple*)
Venice, San Marco, Mascoli Chapel



5. Michele Giambono, Angel (detail from *Annunciation*)
Venice, San Marco, Mascoli Chapel



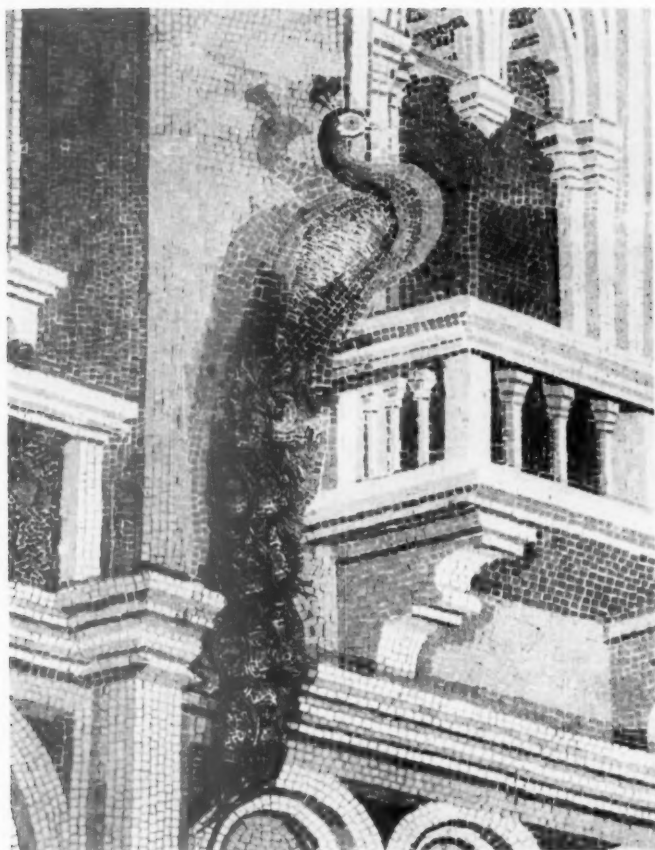
6. Collaborator of Michele Giambono, Detail from *Birth of Mary*
Venice, San Marco, Mascoli Chapel



7. Venetian Master(?), Detail from *Presentation in the Temple*
Venice, San Marco, Mascoli Chapel



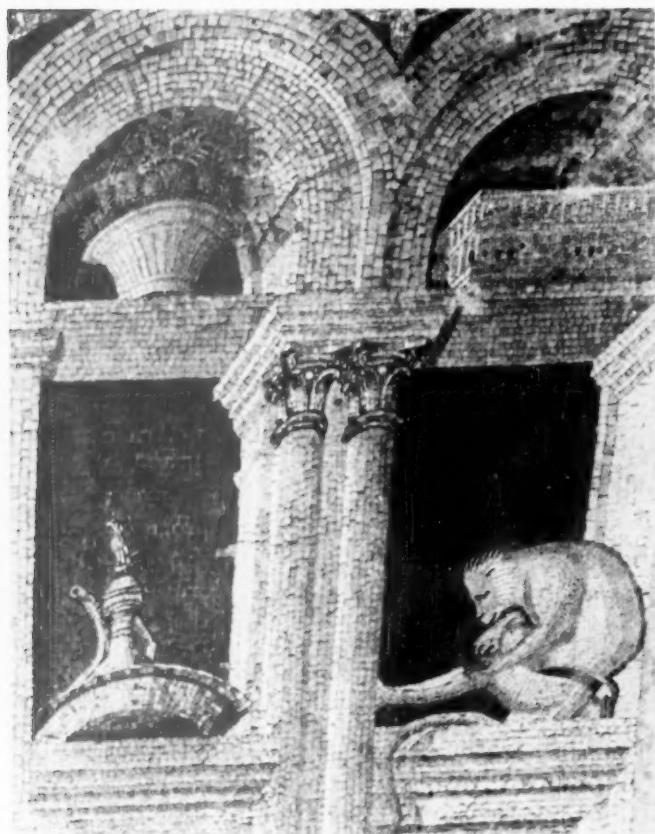
8. Veneto-Muranese Artist, Detail from *Death of the Virgin*
Venice, San Marco, Mascoli Chapel



9. Venetian Master(?), Detail from *Birth of Mary*
Venice, San Marco, Mascoli Chapel



10. Venetian Master(?), Detail from *Visitation* (restored)
Venice, San Marco, Mascoli Chapel



11. Art of the xv century, Detail from the frieze of *Death of the Virgin*, Venice, San Marco, Mascoli Chapel



12. Art of the xv century, Detail from *Death of the Virgin*
Venice, San Marco, Mascoli Chapel



13. Art of the xv century, Detail from the frieze of *Visitation*
Venice, San Marco, Mascoli Chapel



14. Art of the xv century, Detail from *Visitation*
Venice, San Marco, Mascoli Chapel

The date of birth of this artist is unknown, but we do know that he was already married in 1420 and that in 1422 he had joined the *Scuola di San Giovanni Evangelista*. According to extant documents (his first painting is dated 1455), one would have thought Giambono's artistic activity started very late; but a few years ago a fresco in Sant'Anastasia in Verona, securely dated 1432, was rightly attributed to him.¹⁵

Therefore, at the beginning of the fourth decade Michele Giambono was not only in touch with Tuscan artists (the terra cottas of the Serego tomb have been attributed to a Ghibertese master) but had already revealed himself in full maturity, possessing the characteristics of his own unmistakable style which was never to change, notwithstanding the most important encounters with more progressive artists.

While the fresco in Verona explains the reason for the slow progress of the mosaics of the Mascoli Chapel, it testifies to the fame the artist enjoyed even outside Venice; a fame confirmed by his commission in San Marco, his work in Treviso and San Daniele del Friuli, by his testimony on a matter concerning Donatello in Padua, but especially by the 300 ducats he received each year from the *Procuratori di San Marco*, which during the same period Jacobello del Fiore received from the same magistrates a salary two-thirds less than this.¹⁶

The fact that Giambono earned an annual salary signifies that he had become an official of the state. Its size shows that he did not have the pay of a plain mosaicist but probably that of official painter and restorer of the paintings of the Ducal Palace; a position that we know to have been held later by Gentile Bellini. Since the Church of San Marco in its position as Ducal Chapel was directly and exclusively dependent upon the Palace, it is logical that Giambono executed the work that was commissioned for the church at that time. In fact, in a document of 1449 he is recorded as "Michael Zambon pictori S. Marci." This signature is a declaration of the artist's pride in his official position. If this were intended to refer to the parish in which the artist lived (as Testi surmised) it would have been indicated in the document by the words, *de confinio*, or a similar expression. From other contemporary documents, in fact, it is known that the artist lived in the parish of San Gregorio.¹⁷ But we come now to his work in San Marco.

It is strange that no one has yet wondered what is the extent of the direct intervention of Michele Giambono in the Mascoli Chapel. One thing is immediately evident: the Angel of the *Annunciation* (Fig. 5) is his.¹⁸ There are other figures that reveal in physiognomy and manner the style of the Venetian master; however, most of them are translations by more or less skillful masters from Giambono's cartoons (Fig. 6).

STATE CONTROL OF THE ARTI

The presence of works by the master and translations by disciples based on his cartoons proves that by now the reconstituted *bottega*, actually the *nuova scuola* of the mosaics of San Marco, which had been begun upon the arrival in Venice of Paolo Uccello, was once again in full operation. A

the Virgin are original. The proposal of early restoration work on a part that had fallen, cited in note 14, had thus dawned even on Cavalcaselle.

One must remember that Cavalcaselle was an excellent connoisseur of mosaic technique and had intended to open a school for the restoration of mosaics (G. B. Cavalcaselle, "Sulla conservazione dei monumenti e degli oggetti d'arte e sulla riforma dell'insegnamento accademico," *Rivista dei comuni italiani*, 1863; another edition, separately printed, Rome, 1875).

15. W. Arslan, "Intorno a Giambono e Francesco de' Franceschi," *Emporium*, 1948, p. 285.

16. Stringa, *op.cit.*, p. 56 and Testi, *op.cit.*, II, pp. 17 and 39.

17. Venice, Archivio di Stato, Acts of Tommei Tommaso; Testi, *op.cit.*, II, pp. 15-17. The usual custom of having a

permanent mosaicist is proved by a document published by Saccardo (*op.cit.*, p. 33).

18. On the wall with the *Annunciation*, an attentive observer (A. Pasini, *Guide de la Basilique St. Marc*, Schio, 1888, p. 126) was able to see traces of an inscription which he could not read, and which has completely disappeared today.

A comparison of the quality of the tesserae and the method of application between the Angel of the Mascoli Chapel and the mosaic Head, now in the Museo di San Marco, which we have attributed to Paolo Uccello (M. Muraro, "L'esperienza veneziana di Paolo Uccello," *Atti del XVIII congresso internazionale di storia dell'arte*, Venice, 1956, p. 197), would confirm the relationship between Giambono and this Florentine master.

few years had sufficed to give new life to an art of such fundamental importance for Venice. It is interesting to see how this rebirth of the mosaics of San Marco came about: After the death of Jacobello della Chiesa, when the Republic wished to restore the mosaics destroyed by fire, no one remained in Venice who had mastered the art of the mosaicist. The last one had emigrated to the coast of Genoa, where a certain Ilario proposed to join him on condition of not losing his position at the Venetian *Dogana* during his absence. When all search for a native artist, including this, remained in vain, and only then ("cum non repeririatur aliquis magister dicte artis"), did the Venetian Senate take the great decision: i.e., to insist no longer on a Venetian master, but rather to ask the Florentine ally to send someone to restore San Marco.¹⁹

To justify the length to which they went before sending for a foreign artist, we must turn our attention to a subject of interest to the study of the history of Venetian art: the rules governing the *Arti* and the extent to which artists, Venetian or foreign, were subject to them.

As early as the ninth century we know of the existence of Venetian guilds (*Arte dei casseleri*), but the earliest known statute goes back to the last decades of the thirteenth century, to the time when the *Tre Giustizieri Vecchi*, assigned to control the *Arti*, were probably created. The control was political in that the members of each *Arte* had special duties in case of emergency (in 1310 the painters fought at S. Luca against Baiamonte Tiepolo). It was a social control in that each *Arte* constituted a small republic that coordinated and disciplined a given group of citizens. It was an economic control in that by a check on the quality of the product, the equity of the market was guaranteed (even in modern contracts one speaks of a work that must be done *a regola d'arte*), export was facilitated and, by the payment of the various taxes, the *Milizia da Mar* was supported. But above all, the *Arti* tended to form an autarchy that prevented export of cash and at the same time, by stopping competition, protected the work of Venetian citizens: "Nui Venetiani subditi alle vostre magnificentie," states a petition of sculptors in 1491, "non vogliamo che si vada contra la nostra mariegola et forma de nostri ordini et contro el beneficio di questa città."²⁰

The statutes published by Monticolo are dated 1231,²¹ but in Venice they remained substantially unchanged up to the fall of the Republic. In fact, in 1752 there was an investigation that permits us to know that the number of *Arti* (the list mentions 132) was so great that one may say that "non ci è mestiere, ossia di fabbricare, ossia di vendere che non sia serrato in arte."²² Some of the testimony leads to the conclusion that the concept of personal ability had no value at that time; only he could work who possessed the required syndicalist qualifications; without these, even "chi lavorasse perfettamente, egli non può farlo senza contravvenire alle leggi."²³ Such strict rules had ceased to exist in Florence and elsewhere at the time when the *Arti*, on taking over the government, had liberated themselves of all forms of control exercised by the governing authority, a control that was considered a relic of a mediaeval mentality. But in Venice the *Giustizieri Vecchi*,

19. G. Gaye, *Carteggio inedito d'artisti nei sec. XIV, XV e XVI*, Florence, 1839, I, p. 147; Saccardo, *op.cit.*, p. 33.

On the development of mosaic art of the Quattrocento in Florence there are very few sources (A. Chastel, "La Mosaïque à Venise et à Florence au XV siècle," *Arte veneta*, 1954, p. 112).

According to Milanesi (G. Milanesi, *Dell'arte del vetro per mosaico, Tre trattatelli dei secoli XIV e XV*, Bologna, 1864) it was the Florentine masters who wrote on glass and mosaic technique in the first half of the century.

Saccardo, one of those who knew most about the mosaic technique of San Marco, discovered certain colors of the tesserae in the Mascio Chapel to be Florentine rather than Venetian (*op.cit.*, p. 36). It is a fact that traveling artists sometimes carried their materials and colors with them.

20. A. Sagredo, *Sulle consorterie delle arti edificative*, Venice, 1856, p. 283.

21. G. Monticolo, "Il capitulare dell'arte dei pittori a

Venezia composto nel dicembre 1231 e le sue aggiunte 1271-1311," *Nuovo archivio veneto*, II, 1891, pp. 311 and 563; P. Edwards, *Antichità dell'unione dei pittori in Venezia . . .*, Venice, Museo Correr, MS XIV, 35. Edwards writes, "I pittori furono in Venezia, più che altrove, raccolti sotto forma di regolare società." Lanzi himself affirms that the Guild of Venetian painters is older than the Florentine (*Storia pittorica dell'Italia*, Milan, 1837, I, p. 72).

There are still to be found the traces of old traditions in the shops of the craftsmen of Venice. Up to 1849 it was still customary to begin and end all the work in the city at an hour established by the ringing of special bells of San Giovanni di Rialto (*Coerimoniale Magnum Ecclesiae Sancti Marci*, Venice, Marciana, MS Cl. VII, cod. 396).

22. Sagredo, *op.cit.*, p. 19.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 188. The proof of the examination sustained in order to become a "maestro" was considered sufficient guarantee of artistic ability.

then the *Provveditori di Comune* and the *Inquisitori alle Arti* (magistrates who represented the strong centralized government of the Serenissima) continued to watch over every industrial activity, to prevent the *Arti* from assuming political power or exceeding the task of organizing trades. The magistrates also intervened to control every variation, however minor, from the Statutes of the *Arte*.

The *Capitolari* established the artisan's career: he remained a *garzone* for a period from five to seven years, a *lavorante* two to three, and finally, after passing a practical test, he could be received into the *fraglia* as a *maestro*. Only then was he able to open his own shop, to employ *garzoni* and *lavoranti*, to sell art objects, both those made by him and by others.²⁴

Therefore the *Arti* were exclusive castes; only in the case of a plague were the doors open to all for three years and it was possible to enter without completing the prescribed routine, and especially without the examination, which in the case of a sculptor consisted in presenting a *base attica*, and for a painter *un anchona a più colori*.²⁵

The *Arti* of glass, silk, and wool, products of which Venice enjoyed a monopoly, were governed by particularly rigid laws; but one must note that the city in general was constantly dominated by patronage, which became absolutely inflexible in times of economic crisis.²⁶

Foreigners working in Venice were, I believe, always the exception that can be explained from century to century and time to time on the basis of the particular economic and historical situation of a given moment.²⁷

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 94 and 128. The tradition survived until the end of the Republic, and beyond. A report of 1752 expresses it in this way: "Né evvi alcuno che si possa introdurre, siasi Forestiero che suddito, se prima non abbia passato per le varie trafille del Garzonato e della Lavoranzia, e se non hanno fatto l'esborso di alcune spese . . ." (Sagredo, *op.cit.*, p. 192).

25. *Ibid.*, pp. 94, 130. For the opening of the *Arti* after the plague see Sagredo, *op.cit.*, p. 182, on a law of October 31, 1577.

26. An example of the intransigence of the *titolati in materia* on matters pertaining not only to foreigners, but also to Venetian citizens, is found in a document of 1773 (Venice, Archivio di Stato, Inquisitori alle Arti; B. I, c. 249): "Motivo della desolazione della nostra Arte è il troppo numero di garzoni, lavoranti e botteghe; si avvarrebbe espediente valevole il serrar l'arte per anni 20."

27. If one keeps the *Statuti delle Arti* and the customs of the Venetian artists in mind, some light may be cast on various periods of Venetian history. Recently, for example, I availed myself of this in interpreting the problem of the Guardis ("The Guardi Problem and the Statutes of Venetian Guilds," *Burlington Magazine*, 1960, p. 421).

It is easy to explain why there were works by Donatello and Dürer in Venice, for they were placed, respectively, in the chapels reserved for the Florentines and the Germans.

The presence of Antonello and other artists may be justified by the fact that they were not engaged by official organizations, but by private persons. The authority reached by Sansovino and others during the first half of the Cinquecento coincides with that time when a much less isolationist Venice participated in the political life of Italy as a whole.

The fact that no documents relating to the German and Flemish painters who worked beside Titian and Tintoretto have been found is more easily understood when we remember the difficulties encountered by foreign artists.

An eighteenth century document contains a significant passage: "E se (an artist who was unable to join the *Fraglie*) ottiene anche il lavoro, tante sono le insidie, e le male maniere che riceve dall'Arti, che bisogna necessariamente si stanchi e si abbandonano" (Sagredo, *op.cit.*, p. 188).

Naturally it would be necessary to reexamine all the documents and testimony that have fortuitously survived, in order to prove the truth of these points. This kind of study logically

presents continuous problems and difficulties. Although Venetian legislation was substantially unified and stationary, it was at times able to adjust itself to circumstances with great elasticity, but ready, as soon as necessary, to return to the most rigid respect for old traditions. For the Venetian legislation see D. Manin, *Della veneta giurisprudenza civile, mercantile e criminale*, Venice, 1848, and P. S. Leicht, "Lo stato veneto e il diritto comune," *Miscellanea di studi in onore di R. Cessi*, Rome, 1958, I, pp. 203-211.

Unfortunately, Sagredo's is the only organic study of the working of the *Arti* at Venice, and it will be necessary to coordinate the little that is to be found in documents relating to single artists, in order to reconstruct the panorama of Venetian painting from this point of view. We can gather many relevant notices about this subject from the diatribes which, especially in the eighteenth century, were provoked by those who sought the suppression of the ancient guilds and of their abuses. See for example: A. Vivorio, *Sopra i corpi delle Arti*, Verona, 1792.

It is well to add that 1) all corporations had to obey a *Statuto* that was identical for all (a very serious matter, according to the *Inquisitore*, cf. Sagredo, *op.cit.*, p. 192), with only a few chapters on the technique of the trade added in each case; 2) all members had to be present at periodic readings of the statutes, not only of their *Arte* but of all the others as well (cf. Sagredo, *op.cit.*, p. 180); 3) the distinction between art and craft (*arte e artigianato*; in the case of painting, between artists and decorators or house painters) was made, though with little effect, in 1682 with the founding of the *Collegio* of Pietro Liberi, and in the Settecento with the various *Accademie* which sprang up at that time in imitation of those in other cities. However, these institutions were not exempt from obeying the general laws of the state.

In spite of the ancient aspiration of painters to the liberty enjoyed by poets (E. H. Kantorowicz, "The Sovereignty of the Artist," *De artibus opuscula XL, Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*, New York, 1961, p. 277), their art was always subject, at least in Venice, to the same laws which governed any product of commercial value. It should be remembered that in the *Tariffa del pagamento di tutti i dadi di Venetia* of A. Moresini (Venice, 1524) are listed along with all other purely commercial products: altarpieces (p. 50), paintings on canvas, and figures in wood, plaster, and terra cotta (p. 51).

FOREIGN ARTISTS IN VENICE

The statute of 1231 already considered the presence of a foreigner in the city as an abnormal case ("si aliquis forinsecus venerit in Venecies ad laborandum pro magistro . . .") and, although it was customary to receive non-Venetian artisans into the *fraglie* upon payment of a special tax called *bonintrada*, one may say that the stranger's situation always remained difficult.²⁸ As we shall see, a law of 1436 established that one must be an inhabitant of Venice to be accepted into the painter's guild, which was requisite to practicing the art in Venice.²⁹ To defend this autocratic regime there existed a whole sequence of rules, some of which we shall quote, for they belong to the period in which we are at present interested.

In speaking of the frescoes of San Tarasio we had proposed the term *bottega mista* to refer to the simultaneous activity of Venetian and foreign masters.³⁰ But, after renewed studies, we believe it necessary to detail the situation in more concrete terms: a large-scale work like the Porta della Carta (1439-1442) or the decoration of the Mascoli Chapel was, by law and by custom, usually given to a Venetian master, who assumed all responsibility toward the state. He could make use of the collaboration of artists and workers of his choice, but it was he who signed the work.³¹

If, as it seems to be, this statement is valid, then the reason why Giambono signed the Mascoli mosaics becomes logical and one can realize how the work was carried on.

At what point did the work begin? It is interesting to find the precise answer in order to reconstruct the course of Venetian culture between 1430 and 1450. In this kind of case it is logical and necessary to start with the decoration of the vault to prevent damage or staining of the parts below.³² In fact it is in the tondi with the Madonna and the two prophets Isaiah and David, and in the floral bands, that we see the flat forms, the more archaic interlacing, the more Gothicizing colors (Fig. 3). Probably the decoration of the principal wall, where Giambono represented the *Annunciation*, followed immediately after this. The substantial difference between the vault figure and the angel suggests a long interval during which Giambono, under the influence of a Tuscan master, could revolutionize his plastic vision.

But our main interest is to be concentrated upon the panels showing four scenes from the life of the Virgin. The first represents the *Birth of Mary*; when we speak of this as the first of the series, we are thinking not in terms of the logical sequence of the story (however, the chronological evidence should not be discarded) but of style. In this, as in each of the four scenes, is represented a stage of cultural evolution that cannot be transposed, because the various episodes, one after

A letter of 1675 from Marco Boschini to Cardinal Leopoldo de' Medici (Lucia and Ugo Procacci, *Lettere di Marco Boschini*, Saggi e Memorie dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Arte della Fondazione G. Cini, Venice, 1961) informs us that the Venetian Magistrates had sequestered a case of drawings sent by the Cardinal for the examination and opinion of the Venetian critic. It is my intention to continue to collect notices and documents regarding the relationship of Venetian art with the corporative laws which governed the city and state.

28. Besides what is mentioned above in note 27, one must recall a case of the most severe intransigence against a foreign artist, that took place in 1610; the city of Udine formed the *Scuola dei Pittori*, "conforme a quanto s'osserva ne la Città dominante, ed altre città de questo Stato." Pietro Telini, a Tuscan who had lived in Udine for twenty years and was married to a native, was refused membership in the *Arte* (F. di Maniago, *Statuti delle belle arti friulane*, Udine, 1823, p. 375).

29. See the document transcribed below and note 39.

30. M. Muraro, "Domenico Veneziano at San Tarasio," *ART BULLETIN*, xli, 1959, p. 151. The fact that Andrea del Castagno and Francesco di Faenza were able to sign the frescoes of San Zaccaria can perhaps be explained by the length of time that they had spent in Venice and their relationship, about

which nothing is known, with the *Magistrato del Forestier* and the *Giustizia Vecchia*.

31. Does this explain why, although Bartolomeo Bon signed the Porta della Carta in a clear manner, the Florentine sculptors did not engrave their names under the *Judgment of Solomon* and hid their emblem (*duo sotii florentini*) amongst the floral motifs of the corner capital of the Ducal Palace?

32. This is also prescribed in old treatises on frescoes and was practiced everywhere: see, for example, the chronology and order followed in the decoration of the Eremitani Chapel in Padua.

The decoration of the vault of the Mascoli Chapel has even been dated before Giambono (Pasini, *op.cit.*, p. 126). Testi (*op.cit.*, p. 59) believes the mosaic of the *Annunciation* came first, and was followed by the *Presentation* and the *Visitation*, and finally by the *Birth* and *Death*.

Hartt (*op.cit.*, p. 231), among others, believes that the *Death* was the first mosaic finished and that Giambono was continuing work begun by Andrea or another Florentine: "Giambono was not originally commissioned to work in the chapel either before or with Castagno, but rather that he was called in to complete the cycle barely begun by the young Florentine."

the other, mark the steps leading to that domain of the Renaissance module that culminates, as we shall see, in the *Death of the Virgin*.

In the first scene we already notice a striking dualism: while the figures are derived from Giambono's cartoons, the architecture, even though Gothic, reveals a very advanced sense of perspective and a precision of design that can only be justified by proposing the intervention of a Tuscan mind.³³ In order to understand the situation of a Tuscan in Venice at this moment, it is necessary to pause here and collect data concerning the relationship between Venice and the Veneto and Florence in the early part of the Quattrocento. When (in 1424-1426) Florence implored alliance and aid against the Duke of Milan, the Venetians replied: "Non quidem libenter, sed tamquam coacti pro conservatione status nostri ac libertatis Communitatis Florentiae ac nostra et totius Italiae non potuimus aliter facere quod venire ad guerram cum duce Mediolani."³⁴ Until 1450 Florence remained faithful to the Serenissima. Within these decades Ludovico Scarampi Mezzarota and Bartolomeo Zabarella were nominated Archbishops of Florence; they were from Padua, the city of which Leonardo Mocenigo, whose name we found on the tablet of the Mascoli Chapel, was once *Podestà*. At the same time men of letters and artists continued to travel between Tuscany and the Veneto, often leaving precious documentation of their activity. It is known that around 1433 and 1434, Michelozzo, in the suite of Cosimo de' Medici, visited the city on the lagoon where, as Vasari writes "molti disegni e modelli vi fece di abitazioni private e pubbliche, ornamenti per gli amici di Cosimo."³⁵ It seems to me that this is the crucial moment of the change from the Gothic world to that of the Renaissance, of which we have a living document in the Mascoli Chapel, especially in the development of the architectural representation. If our hypothesis is true, that on the day of its inauguration the Mascoli Chapel was completely decorated with temporary mural paintings, then it is possible to accept the theory of Pudelko, who gave to Paolo Uccello the credit for the architectural invention on the left wall.³⁶ If, instead, the decoration of the Mascoli Chapel was begun after 1433, one must see what part Michelozzo may have had in it and whether he may have caused the substantial change in the original concept of decoration that we shall speak of later. In fact, I believe that, with the exception of the background of the *Visitation*, one cannot

33. In his notes Cavalcaselle did not mention any relation with Tuscan art in the architecture. P. A. Pacivico (*Cronaca veneta*, Venice, 1697, p. 260) was struck by the "bellissime prospettive di palazzi," and Stringa (*op.cit.*, p. 57) wrote: "oltre le molte figure bellissime—insomma eccellenza l'Angiolo Gabriello—veggonsi tre prospettive di palagi, e una di un tempio, così notande, che havrebbe molto che fare qual si voglia buon Pittor, aggiungerli col pennello. In somma io non potrei con parole a pieno esplicarne la rarità, la bellezza, la perfezione, e la nobiltà di quest'opera, la quale è tale, e tanta, che posso con verità affermare non ve ne esser in tutto il mondo un'altra simile."

It was Saccardo who first proposed the names of Donatello, and especially Michelozzo (*op.cit.*, p. 37). While some writers tried to place the architecture within the circle of Quattrocento Padua (Testi, Fiocco), others turned ever more insistently to Paolo Uccello (R. Longhi, "Lettere pittoriche," *Vita artistica*, 1926, p. 129; "Fatti di Masolino e di Masaccio," *Critica d'arte*, 1940, p. 179). It is Pudelko's merit ("The Early Works of Paolo Uccello," *ART BULLETIN*, 1934, pp. 253-254) to have focused research beyond the architecture of the *Visitation* and the *Death of Mary* to the backgrounds of the *Birth* and the *Presentation in the Temple*, fully gothicizing but presented with exceptionally rigid perspective. Saccardo's hypothesis, which we consider to be of great interest, was almost completely abandoned.

There is still no answer to the question posed by Coletti (L. Coletti, *Pittura veneta del Quattrocento*, Novara, 1953, p. xxvi): "Alla fine, non potrebbe il nome di Domenico Veneziano offrir la soluzione al problema . . . della *Visitatione*

nella Cappella dei Mascoli?"

It is the interesting hypothesis of B. Degenhart and A. Schmitt ("Gentile da Fabriano in Rom und die Anfänge des Antikenstudiums," *Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst*, 1960, p. 143, fig. 13) that Giambono had an Altichieresque prototype for the architectural backgrounds in the Mascoli mosaics, such as is reflected in Pisanello's drawing in the Ambrosiana. In connection with the attribution of certain of these mosaics to Jacopo Bellini, it should be remembered that a parchment sheet formerly included in the volume of drawings in the Louvre represented "un caxamento con el doxe Foscari et altri" (B. Paoletti, *La Scuola Grande di S. Marco*, Venice, 1929, p. 78). An old Venetian tradition, as we know for example from the will of Angelo Tebaldo in 1324 (R. Fulin, *Cinque testamenti . . .*, Archivio Veneto, 1876, p. 130), was to cede original drawings (*desegnature*) to other artists. Article 59 of the "Capitolari dell'Arte dei Pittori Veneziani" permitted a master to have the collaboration of two artists; in case that he needed more help he had to ask special permission from the proper authorities (*Giustizieri vecchi*).

34. S. Romanin, *Storia documentata di Venezia*, Venice, IV, p. 213. On the conditions of artists in Florence at this time see: U. Procacci, "Sulla cronologia delle opere di Masaccio e di Masolino fra il 1425 e il 1428," *Rivista d'arte*, XXVIII, 1956-1958.

35. Vasari, *Le Vite*, Florence, 1878, II, 434.

36. In fact Paolo Uccello was to return to Florence in January 1431 (J. Pope-Hennessy, *Paolo Uccello*, London, 1950, p. 3).

explain the architecture without Florentine intervention. In the *Presentation in the Temple* there is, for example, a lantern evidently derived from Brunelleschi. But why should the participation of Michelozzo, or some other Tuscan, be limited to the background elements? The answer is given indirectly by Vasari, when he speaks of Verrocchio, called to Venice for the monument to Bartolomeo Colleoni.³⁷ Let us observe the events carefully: at first the Serenissima had entrusted the work completely to the Tuscan sculptor; later it was decided that Verrocchio was to do only the horse while the figure was to be made by the Venetian Bartolomeo Bellano. After Verrocchio's indignation and his condemnation by the Venetians, the work was returned completely into the hands of the foreign artist, perhaps by virtue of a personal decision of the Doge. However, he tried in vain, before his death, to have the completion of the work committed to his Tuscan aide, Lorenzo di Credi; it was entrusted to a Venetian, who signed it and received a life-long pension for the work. Sanudo, recounting the visit of the *Signoria* to SS. Giovanni e Paolo, concludes: "È da saper che il maestro che la fece è chiamato Alexandro de Leopardiis, veneto."³⁸

Let us omit a comment on Sanudo's text (so important to the understanding of the significance of "signatures," especially in Venice) and dwell upon the fact that, perhaps because of a protest by the Venetian *Arti*, as well as "mediante il favore d'alcuni gentiluomini" (Vasari), a local sculptor was commissioned to do the *figura*, while a foreigner was permitted to do the *cavallo*. Vasari's account throws light on the manner in which the decorations in San Marco that are studied here were carried out. Therefore, at the Mascoli Chapel we also see the protagonists of the various scenes executed by Venetian artisans appearing in front of architecture created by Tuscan artists; an architectural setting, considered a secondary element according to the mentality of the times (we recall the *quadraturisti* of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) and therefore conceded to a foreign artist, among other things, more expert than the Venetians in work of this kind.

Finally, let us see what the statutes of the *Arte* at the time of the execution of the mosaics of the Mascoli Chapel say. On April 10, 1436, master Domenico Draghia, *gastaldo* of the *Arte* of the painters, appeared with some companions before the *Provveditori di Comune* and the *Giustizieri Vecchi* in order to have the old statute confirmed, for the "ampliamento et accrescimento dela Illustrissima Signoria nostra: et utile et proficuo de tuta la città et arte nostra preditta in secula seculorum." Chapter XI of the Statute, confirmed on that very date, establishes: "Che alcuna persona sia de Venezia come forestera, non ardisca vendere da mo' innanzi anchone depente in Venezia, se non sarà depentor dell'arte, fuorchè quelli avranno zurado l'arte, intendendo che loro sia habitatori de Venetia et a loro sia licito vender ne le loro boteghe et non in altro luogo."³⁹ During these years the *Arte dei depentori* had achieved great authority, also as a result of the rebuilding in 1442 of the church of San Luca, seat of the School of painters. These documents concerning the *Arte dei depentori* between the third and the sixth decade are very significant and must be kept in mind when trying to resolve at least some of the complex problems relating to the decoration of the Mascoli Chapel. One might object and say that the measures for the complete advantage and protection of local artists had been provoked by infractions of the old autocratic principle, but their aggravation at this time leads to the belief that during the fourth decade of the Quattrocento there was in Venice a certain crisis, or at least, that the authority of the prince

37. Vasari, *op.cit.*, III, 368, and comment by Milanesi. According to Vasari, Verrocchio was also commissioned to design the Doge's tomb.

38. Sanudo, *op.cit.*, II, p. 299.

39. Sagredo, *op.cit.*, p. 128. The preceding arrangements did not establish the necessity of residence in Venice in order to be able to practice art. A decision of October 15, 1346, resolved that "da mo' in avanti no possa vegnir o esser condotto in questa tera . . . alcun lavorerio . . . fato a pannelo e

stampido, soto pena . . ." (T. Temanza, *Nuove memorie per servire alla storia letteraria*, Venice, 1761).

One must remember that during these same years other cities had also issued quite restrictive laws. For example, in 1426, "I maestri senesi volevano che qualunque forestiero venisse a Siena, o presso Siena, a dieci miglia, non potesse fare bottega, né lavorare se non approvato da tre maestri e dietro pagamento di una tassa all'Arte" (U. Lusini, *L'Arte del legname*, Siena, 1904, p. 35).

looked for support among the lower classes, against the jealousy of the aristocracy, supporting first of all the laws protecting the *Arti*.

In favor of our theory there is an even more convincing argument: how could the government (and an authoritarian Doge who had already committed too many faults) oppose a law it had itself passed and one concerning a place like the Mascoli Chapel that was situated in the Church of San Marco, the Doge's chapel, an official building? Therefore, we believe it to be quite conceivable that a Florentine artist (even one of such strong and markedly individualistic temperament as Andrea del Castagno) would have endured supervision by a Venetian master, even one as conservative as Giambono.⁴⁰ The theory about the individual artistic value is one inspired by concepts of modern aesthetics, completely foreign, as we have seen in the document quoted in note 23, to the mentality of Venice. In another article we have tried to show how Paolo Uccello also did not come to Venice to impose his discoveries and Renaissance superiority, but humbly to restore and patch the mosaics damaged by fire.⁴¹

THE EVOLUTION OF THE CONCEPT OF PERSPECTIVE

We have thus far attempted to explain why Giambono signed the mosaics of the Mascoli Chapel; the chronological order in which they were executed; why their architectural settings may derive from cartoons of Tuscan masters; and what were the norms protecting local artists against foreign competition. Let us now return to the four episodes from the life of the Virgin and see what conclusions may be reached by observation.

The transition from the Gothic to the Renaissance worlds as reflected in the decorations of the Mascoli Chapel is proved by one precise and clear element: it consists not so much in the change from Gothic forms to Renaissance modules, as in the variety with which the concept of perspective is interpreted on the different walls. Evidently the decorative complex had been initiated on the basis of a unified project (the one we believe to have been already painted in *sinopia* in 1430), in which according to the tradition of angular perspective each element converges toward a point. The left scenes, both the *Birth of Mary* and the *Presentation in the Temple*, obey this principle; the architecture of the background is, in fact, represented obliquely in order to be visible to the spectator observing it from the transept or from the entrance barrier of the chapel.

With the *Visitation* and the *Death of the Virgin*, the two episodes on the opposite wall, the first idea is abandoned and the observer must enter the chapel and stand in front of them. Besides this, while the scenes on the left wall conform to the traditional continuous narrative style (the two women between the *Birth* and the *Presentation* emphasize the unity of the whole), the *Visitation* and the *Death of Mary* are conceived as autonomous and self-sufficient scenes, each one treated according to the new norms of Florentine central perspective. "La distantia et la positione del centrico razzo molto vale alla ricchezza del vedere," writes Alberti; and Piero della Francesca, not only in theory but also in practice, for example at Arezzo, considered that each panel should be observed from the point where the artist stood at the time of execution: "In quello termine l'occhio, senza volgerse, vede tutto il suo lavoro; che se bisognasse volgere, seriano falsi i termini."⁴² Thus we find a position antithetical to the perspective dear to the Venetians, adventurous and scenographic since early times.

When we look at the last two scenes in the life of the Virgin we discover a complete contradiction to what has been said up to now; in the *Death of the Virgin*, particularly, we see that not only the architectural background, but also some of the figures were executed by foreign masters

40. Hartt, in a letter to the author, holds a contrary view.

41. Muraro, *op.cit.*, 1956, p. 197.

42. L. B. Alberti, *Della pittura*, ed. L. Mallè, Florence, 1950, pp. 24, 62; Piero della Francesca, *De Prospectiva Pingendi*, ed. Nicco Fasola, Florence, 1954, I, XX, p. 96. On the

participation of the observer in the work of art and for the unifying concept that pervaded the first two scenes of the Mascoli Chapel, see L. Steinberg, "Observations in the Cerasi Chapel," *ART BULLETIN*, XLI, 1959, p. 185.

(Figs. 11, 12, 13, and 14). I wish to attempt to justify such a rapid and unexpected change. Is it possible that at the very moment in which the political relations between Venice and Florence, united in a common war against the Duke of Milan, permitted Venetian artists to work together with the Florentines, alternating in the same work, the community of interests had overcome all opposition? But why did Giambono in the group at the right in the scene of the *Death of the Virgin* (I believe I can also distinguish the hand of another Venetian artist beside Giambono, perhaps a master of the school of Murano, Fig. 8) again take the upper hand over the Florentine master, complete the scene, and, with Gothic letters, place the confirmatory seal of his signature?⁴³

The explanation of this stylistically evident fact is perhaps to be found in a letter of June 3, 1451, addressed to Ludovico Sforza: "I venetiani al tutto intendono cacciare Fiorentini de omne loro paese."⁴⁴ This would have taken place on June 20, 1451, the date on which probably Castagno also (if he was the Florentine master who collaborated on the *Death of the Virgin*) departed from the city leaving Michele Giambono and the Venetians undisputed masters of the field.⁴⁵ Nor was he the only one to be chased from Venetian territory: Bono da Ferrara and his aide, Baldassare di Francia, were no longer able to paint in Padua;⁴⁶ Cecco da Roma, also in 1451, was banished from Padua ("quia forensis et miserabilis et non est de terris sudditis nostro dominio").⁴⁷ Even artists were thus swept up in the atmosphere of hate provoked by the treason of Florence. In the second half of the century the relations between Venice and Florence became constantly less frequent. The political-cultural axis turned rather toward Milan, which in 1450 had fallen into the hands of the Sforzas.

FLORENCE, ITALY

43. The detail is reproduced as fig. 38 of the article by F. Hartt cited above.

44. F. T. Perrens, *Histoire de Florence*, Paris, 1888, I, p. 141.

45. On the history of criticism of the attribution to Castagno of some parts of the Mascoli mosaics, see the article by F. Hartt, *op.cit.*, p. 234. If one accepts the participation of the Florentine master, whether for reasons of date or of style, it is necessary to suppose that, after his presence in Venice in 1442 for the

frescoes of S. Zaccaria, Andrea made another trip, around 1450 (M. Salmi, "Ancora di Andrea del Castagno dopo il restauro degli affreschi di S. Zaccaria a Venezia," *Bollettino d'arte*, XLIII, 1958, p. 117; M. Muraro, *op.cit.*, 1959, p. 156; 1960, p. 83).

46. E. Rigoni, "Il pittore Nicolo Pizzolò," *Arte veneta*, 1948, p. 143.

47. V. Lazzarini and A. Moschetti, *Documenti relativi alla pittura padovana del secolo XV*, Venice, 1909, p. 120.

TWO LANDSCAPES IN RENAISSANCE ROME

A. RICHARD TURNER

AN IMPROBABLE patron and Italy's other esteemed Caravaggio are men whose names recall an unusual commission in Renaissance Rome.

The patron was Fra Mariano Fetti.¹ Endowed with a prodigious appetite,² this erstwhile barber to Lorenzo il Magnifico had found his place in the sun as Leo X's favorite buffoon. About 1525 Fra Mariano decided to decorate a chapel in the church of San Silvestro al Quirinale, and hired a young north Italian, Polidoro da Caravaggio, to do the job.³ Out of this combination of artist and patron emerged a startling break with tradition: two monumental landscape paintings in the sanctity of a Christian church (Figs. 1 and 2).

To be sure, landscape had been painted before; as background to figure scenes, in secular buildings, in the predella, in the privacy of the artist's sketchbook. But rarely had it achieved such monumental scale, and been so frankly landscape for its own sake. Certainly not inside a church.

This essay treats some of the questions raised by Polidoro's innovation, and is about an artist whose contribution is everywhere felt, but nowhere seen, Baldassare Peruzzi of Siena.

I

The landscapes are on the side walls of a small chapel, framed by decorations of late Mannerism. Landscapes they are, pure and simple, and this fact produces an uneasiness in the iconographer. Centuries of Renaissance and mediaeval art have taught him that the art of a Christian chapel will present its didactic message with unambiguous clarity. The message is the thing; the graces of light, color, and line may enhance it, but must never obscure it. Yet in these landscapes at San Silvestro the figures are small, their grouping at times difficult to decipher.

A look at the altarpiece and at the panels which flank it reveals to whom the chapel is dedicated. The panels are full-length portrayals of St. Catherine of Siena and Mary Magdalene, both of whom find a place in the altarpiece.⁴ This understood, the role of the landscapes is immediately explained: they are the setting for important events in the lives of these two saints, their function

1. On Fra Mariano: Ludwig Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, VIII, St. Louis, 1913, pp. 151ff.

2. Fra Mariano consumed forty eggs and twenty roast chickens at one sitting according to an impeccable report, a dehumanizing footnote to an age of humanism.

3. Vasari gives the names of the patron, Fra Mariano, and of the painters, Polidoro and Maturino. Giorgio Vasari, *Le Opere di Giorgio Vasari*, annotated by Gaetano Milanesi, Florence, 1878-1906, I-IX (hereafter referred to as Vasari-Milanesi). See V, pp. 146-147. The chapel is the first on the left as one faces the altar.

The landscapes are done in either oil or tempera (see note 6), and measure about 6 feet high by 7 feet wide.

The principal articles dealing with the chapel are: Domenico Gnoli, "La Cappella di Fra Mariano del Piombo in Roma," *Archivio storico dell'arte*, IV, 1891, pp. 117-126. Clara Pacchiotti, "Nuove attribuzioni a Polidoro da Caravaggio in Roma," *L'Arte*, XXX, 1927, pp. 189-213.

The landscapes are undated, but can be placed with some certainty between 1523 and 1527. They must date before mid-1527, for Vasari (Vasari-Milanesi, V, pp. 150 and 152) says Polidoro fled the Sack of Rome, never to return. On the other hand the landscapes should date after 1518, for two different inscriptions in the chapel referring to that year and to 1530 would suggest that while the chapel was dedicated to St.

Catherine by 1530, it was not as yet so dedicated in 1518. (For the inscriptions, Gnoli, *op.cit.*, p. 119, and for the correct conclusion to be drawn from them, Pacchiotti, *op.cit.*, p. 201.) Vasari (Vasari-Milanesi, V, p. 142) writes that Polidoro's first work as an artist was on the Loggia, that is 1517-1519. If this be so, then it is unlikely that Polidoro would receive a major commission until later. In all probability, then, what appears to be the Medici coat of arms painted in the attic of the temple in the St. Catherine landscape refers to Clement rather than Leo. This would bracket the commission 1523-1527, and Pacchiotti's suggestion (*op.cit.*, p. 200), that the landscapes date from later 1524-early 1525 when the church underwent a restoration, is a sound one.

4. The altarpiece represents the Madonna and Child flanked by Michael and John the Evangelist, with half figures of Catherine (of Alexandria rather than Siena) and the Magdalene below. The picture is of mediocre quality, and it is difficult for me to say more than that it is of Cinquecento date. Vasari (Vasari-Milanesi, IV, p. 225) claims the altarpiece was originally the *Madonna with the Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine*, by Albertinelli, and this report was followed faithfully for four centuries. But Gnoli, *op.cit.*, pp. 123-124, shows good cause to suppose that this is another case of the blind leading the blind, and that the picture never existed.

to echo the iconography of the altar wall.⁵ But it is ever so easy to consider these landscapes by and for themselves. It is then that their subject matter becomes irrelevant. Not subject matter, rather the mood of nature pervades the pictures.

Claude, Vermeer, Turner; recalling the master landscapists, one sees a kaleidoscope of chromatics, a mastery of light and color presented in the thin glazes of the oil medium. Polidoro takes his place as one of the modest harbingers of these better known names; he has rejected the faded colors of fresco, and turned to a medium more suited to the creation of landscape.⁶ The mind's eye needs to strip away layers of discolored varnish, and only then will the range of color emerge.

One is first attracted to the Magdalene landscape. It displays nuances of a mist-filled atmosphere, the subtle distinction between texture of mountain, tree, and sky. The total color effect is a quiet gray-green, highlighted by the waterfall in middle distance. The water is framed by a rich brown tree on one side, and the dark gray outcrop of a hill on the other. The eye passes this shaded foreground to focus upon the swift vertical flecks of white that suggest the falling water. A forest hugs the riverbank; it is depicted with all the sensuousness that one might first expect a century later. Polidoro has succeeded in creating that mixture of sun-drenched foliage and deep shadow found only in the roof of the forest. The tree farthest to the right is a light green, and beside it the scorched frame of a dead trunk hangs over the water. From here the forest recedes into the shade, and to a darkened foliage of nondescript brown. Farther to the left a luxuriant tree emerges from the shadows into the full light of the sun. Spreading onward, the dense forest crown becomes a bright patchwork of gray-greens and autumnal orange-browns, finally disappearing behind the hill. All the color of this lower right quarter of the picture is balanced diagonally in the upper left by what was once the cerulean blue of the sky.

The other two corners of the picture, the lower left and the upper right, strike a similar balance, though a more somber one. The faded pink garments of Christ and the Magdalene stand out softly against the dark olive of the garden trellis, a wall of foliage brightened by white blossoms. Behind rises a hill covered with ancient monuments, described in subdued tones of brown and gray. This area is countered by the dominant element in the picture, the stark cliff behind the forest. The rock is a light gray, lost in murky shadow on the right, and on the left is darkened to stand out against the sky.

Light and atmosphere are the essence of good landscape, and Polidoro has understood this full well. His color not only describes a surface composition, but melts the solidity of objects so that the veil of atmosphere achieves its full importance. But if light and atmosphere be essential to good landscape, the rational structure of space is hardly less important. Here Polidoro develops a skillful solution.

5. The landscape on the left wall contains episodes from the life of St. Catherine. In the background Catherine of Siena (Dominican habit) and her sisters appear before Urban VI, while in the foreground is shown the Mystical Marriage of Catherine (Mystical Marriage was associated with the lives of both St. Catherine. The tendency to fuse the two saints explains how Catherine of Alexandria might appear in the chapel's altarpiece).

On the right wall the landscape has episodes from the life of Mary Magdalene. In the foreground is the *Noli me tangere*, under the porch the Washing of the Feet. In the background is the Levitation of the Magdalene (see note 25).

6. Either tempera or oil. My thanks to Dotts, Paolo Mora and Giovanni Urbani of the Istituto Centrale di Restauro, Rome. They were kind enough to examine the paintings at San Silvestro with me, and provided the following information.

It is difficult to be precise about the technical composition of the pictures without a thorough examination, for each has been subjected to varnish and is dirty. However, the following can be said: the paintings are surely not frescoes, as is usually

stated. They are either done in tempera or oil paint, and then varnished. While there are no grounds for choosing between the two media before further examination, it is interesting that Vasari makes specific mention of Polidoro's use of tempera in the decoration of interiors (Vasari-Milanesi, v, p. 147). Each painting shows a generally consistent surface of one age, indicating that either each surface is original, or entirely repainted. However, there is no indication that the tempera (or oil) surface covers an original fresco base: one would expect telltale signs were there such extensive repainting, and a positive reason against this possibility is that the *intonaco* where bared is not of the type commonly laid for fresco. There has been local repainting on both pictures, in the interests of strengthening highlights and shadows.

I hope these pictures will receive soon a much needed restoration. It is possible that the qualitative difference between the two landscapes (discussed at the end of this essay) will prove largely an error in judgment, and it is certain that the Magdalene landscape will receive full recognition as one of the most important paintings of the later Roman Renaissance.

His structure of space is most clearly elaborated in the Magdalene landscape. Polidoro uses towering elements—the hill with its many buildings, the craggy cliff—to create a pleasing surface composition in which the horizon line is concealed and the sky area minimized. These large land masses are placed parallel to the picture's surface, and so perforce parallel to one another. There is no real suggestion of diagonals, nor of that tunnel space so dear to the Tuscans of the previous century. Rather the progression into depth depends upon pockets of space hidden behind each land mass, pockets that lead the eye into space by power of suggestion. It is what is not seen that is all important.

The tree on the right border of the Magdalene landscape serves as the visual introduction to the picture space. From here the eye may pass to the *Noli me tangere* scene, but will find the view blocked by the tall mound of buildings and ruins. Or one may look at the waterfall and the trees behind it, only to see that they vanish in back of the columned porch on the hill. In this way the unseen pocket of space behind the hill is re-emphasized. The cliff rises from the trees, again blocking the vista that lies behind. But there are few doubts that a sweep of space stretches away, for the deepest penetration in the very center of the picture is a distant mountain lost in haze. Ill-defined and without scale, it suggests an unseen vastness.

Parallel masses, with the intervening spaces more suggested than described, is Polidoro's method of structuring landscape. The bold attempt is not as yet fully realized. For lack of any extensive ground plane there is ambiguity in the relationship of the parallel masses to one another. It is difficult to gauge the amount of space that separates them. The result gives something of the effect of parallel stage wings which may suddenly compress, accordion-fashion, destroying the logic of the picture. But the beginnings are present of a highly intellectual spatial sensibility.

The landscapes possess a breadth and nobility not fully explained by their spatial structure. There is something about them that foreshadows a Poussin or a Claude, and that is the evocation of a solemn antique world, replete with temples, obelisks, great columned porches. Scarcely the trivial *impedimenta* of much of Quattrocento antiquity, these buildings breathe the air of another age.

The description of these landscapes might ramble on, but enough has been said. A few questions will serve to guide the remaining pages. Put briefly: why are the landscapes, among the first monumental landscapes in Western art, painted in a church? The church, after all, is a stronghold of conservatism where abrupt artistic innovations that might obscure the didactic message are frowned upon. Secondly, the spatial structure of the landscapes is a sophisticated invention, and it is only reasonable to ask whether the origins of this structure can be traced. Thirdly, Polidoro is famed as a copier and interpreter of the antique: what is his relation to antiquity when it is a matter of landscape painting? Finally, the Catherine landscape has received only passing mention thus far. This is not by chance, for when one stands in the chapel he is immediately aware of the inferior quality of this somewhat arid painting. It must be asked what, if anything, is to be made of this qualitative difference between the two landscapes. A starting point for these various considerations is to look at landscape painting in Rome before Polidoro.

II

Roman Renaissance art is a transplanted phenomenon, the creation of artists from Tuscany and the north of Italy. Already in the fifteenth century these men had left landscapes in Rome. Such were the frescoed gardens in the loggia of the Casa de' Cavalieri di Rodi, brightly patterned scenes filled with exotic foliage and animal life.⁷ Different were Pintoricchio's cityscapes in the

7. Illustration: Sven Sandström, "The Program for the Tidskrift, XXIX, 1960, p. 41. Decoration of the Belvedere of Innocent VIII," *Konsthistorisk*

Villa Belvedere, topographical depictions meant to proclaim the far-reaching extent of papal power.⁸ For Polidoro these landscapes must have had an archaic appearance, and he doubtless dismissed them with little more than a glance.

As for landscape in the High Renaissance, it is clear that it could play but a small role in a great age of figure painting. Michelangelo's scorn for the landscapes of the Flemings (as reported by Francisco de Hollanda) is too well known to bear quotation. Raphael might have become a great landscape painter. He arrived in Rome after having created a long series of Madonnas in landscapes, those idyls of motherhood in which the dulcified languor of Perugino's manner is brought to perfection. Raphael had rejoiced in these scenes of supreme calm where the landscape stretches away to a distant horizon, this unchanging summer world in which the breeze has died, and clouds move slowly across the sky until the winds off the hills announce the coming of autumn. But even in his most poetic moments Raphael never allowed this landscape to become more than a muted echo of the brightly garbed mother and child in the foreground. Exposed to the monumentality of Rome and the Campagna, Raphael tempered his exquisite grace with a more mature gravity. The compositional suggestion of San Severo becomes the definitive statement of the *Disputa*, and the not fully High Renaissance architecture of the *Sposalizio* turns into the ponderous setting of the *School of Athens*. The creation of architectural space, and the disposition of a reborn race of heroes within that space becomes the consuming passion. Landscape is largely forgotten, if such brilliant and puzzling exceptions as the *Madonna di Foligno* be set aside. And where else is there to look? Sebastiano del Piombo, come from Giorgione's side, soon falls in the shadow of Michelangelo. Peruzzi's matter-of-fact views of Rome incorporated in the illusionistic Sala delle Prospettive at the Villa Farnesina are a fascinating development that seems to have found little direct continuation in Rome.⁹ Polidoro's innovation appears at first glance, then, as the proverbial bolt from the blue.

Before asking if this is indeed true, another aspect of Roman landscape before Polidoro should be considered. If categorize we must, it is fair to say that Polidoro is a painter of the landscape of ruins. The interaction of ruins and the land forms the essence of his landscape art, and here the mood of the Eternal City has laid hold of him. The landscape of ruins thrived in Rome, though confined to the backgrounds of figure scenes, and it will pay to see what Polidoro might have learned from his contemporaries.

The face of Rome is unique. Unlike the gray period museum that is Florence, Rome bears eloquent witness to the successive passing of the centuries. Layer after layer of architecture from all ages has increased the height of the city, filling in the valleys, so that to the visitor today the "hills of Rome" is a puzzling expression. If one were to choose the picture that most concisely describes this unique landscape, he might well turn to Raphael. In the background of Raphael's little Esterhazy Madonna (Budapest) one sees a view of ruins. Skeletal forms of broken colonnades frame a Romanesque campanile rising from the fallen stone—this is the very symbol of Rome, that poignant juxtaposition of the ages that all who travel to the Eternal City carry away in their memories. Yet Raphael's comment was but one of many.

A typical fifteenth century reaction to ruins appears in Pintoricchio's *Martyrdom of St. Sebastian*, in the Borgia Apartments (Fig. 3). It is a landscape that remains basically Umbrian, with its light trees, and view of the distant spreading hills. The battered remains of antiquity are inserted in the landscape like so many literal quotations. The saint is bound to a granite column which

8. Illustration of a fragment of this almost wholly destroyed cycle of cityscapes, *ibid.*, p. 40. This idea of portraying the properties owned or controlled by an individual or state became very popular during the sixteenth century, so from the point of view of iconography these Belvedere landscapes are not without importance. This concept of ownership, of dis-

play, finds complement in much of contemporary portraiture where social class and attributes of culture and profession are stressed at the expense of individual characterization.

9. Though the basic importance of the Farnesina decoration to such decorative schemes as the Villa Imperiale at Pesaro has long been recognized.

stands before a fantastic, moss-draped wall. The wobbly structure seems to defy the law of gravity. To the left lie some shattered fragments of a capital and a fallen cornice, to the right a broken column with trophies carved upon its base. The round hulk of the Colosseum rises behind. But all of these are scattered and unrelated details, intruders upon the peaceful calm of an Umbrian landscape. Pintoricchio has not felt the grandeur that was Rome, the tons and tons of mortar and brick that with monolithic solemnity are rooted in the soil. Nor can we blame him. The Siena library is his testament.

In the course of the next twenty years this somewhat slight view of antiquity was enriched. It was in the teens that the study of the antique attained an almost feverish pitch, and a central figure in these studies was Raphael himself. Raphael and the translation of Vitruvius, the project to reconstruct the appearance of ancient Rome, the disputed report on ancient Rome, the papal exhortation to preserve significant remains—the story of all of this has been told elsewhere.¹⁰ The effect of such learned endeavor upon art is difficult to assess, yet it generated an interest in antiquity that spread beyond the scholars. Such pseudo-antique monuments as the Vatican Loggetta of Raphael and the Bath of Bibbiena are a direct result, while the painting of ruins is a natural part of such an intellectual atmosphere. Ruins fill the backgrounds in the pictures by Raphael's contemporaries, friend and enemy alike. These backgrounds tended to take two forms; on the one hand a fascination with crumbling ruins, and on the other an urge to reconstruct a lost world.

Among the first men to feel the solemnity of ruins was Raphael's arch rival, Sebastiano del Piombo. His *Raising of Lazarus* (begun 1517) is indebted to Michelangelo, but when Sebastiano turned to the background, his memories went back to his Venetian beginnings (Fig. 4).

A bridge crosses a river, perhaps the Tiber. At one end is a ramshackle house, with those overhanging, timber-buttressed rooms which appear in the graphic work of the Giorgione-Campagnola circle. Through bridge and arch are seen closely-ranked buildings that line the river's edge. Towers recede into the distance, light flashing in the leaves of the trees. In the passage there is more than a faint echo of Giorgione's *Tempesta*. Venetian memories, yes, but the spell of Rome has come over Sebastiano. He has grasped the aesthetic possibilities of ruins, the play of mass and void, of light and dark. He has caught the age-old gravity of ruins emerging from the earth. Brick and mortar slowly decay, while the organic life of nature clings to any available foothold. This is no longer the slight vision of a Pintoricchio, but the work of a man who has truly become an *antico romano*.

Giulio Romano, Raphael's prize pupil, offers a second approach to landscape, the creation of a setting for archaeological reconstructions. Such is the background of the *Vision of Constantine*, in the Vatican Sala del Costantino (Fig. 5). Behind the wildly gesticulating figures opens a view of the Tiber valley. Light flashes down upon the Ponte Sant'Angelo, glistening off the statues that adorn it. On the near side of the bridge stands Giulio's reconstructed version of Hadrian's Tomb. Opposite lies the Tomb of Augustus, and behind a non-topographical collection of palace, obelisk, and triumphal column.¹¹

Yet most typically the archaeological and nostalgic approaches to ruins are found in some sort of a union. While Giulio reconstructs antiquity on occasion, his heart lies in the depiction of ruins. The background of Giulio's *Stoning of St. Stephen* is a moment of high drama (Fig. 6).¹² Temple, obelisk, triumphal column, bridge, cavernous ruin—all are disposed in a strange combination of archaeological precision and topographical fantasy. Moist and crumbling brick feeding an unending

10. Fundamental documents and bibliography in Vincenzo Golzio, *Raffaello, nei documenti, nelle testimonianze dei contemporanei, e nella letteratura del suo secolo*, Vatican City, 1936. For a good summary, Ludwig Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, VIII, St. Louis, 1913, pp. 242ff. An excellent work suggests some of the broader implications of the High Renais-

sance attitude towards antiquity: James S. Ackerman, *The Cortile del Belvedere*, Vatican City, 1954 (Vol. III of *Studi e documenti per la storia del Palazzo Apostolico Vaticano*).

11. Frederick Hartt, *Giulio Romano*, New Haven, 1958, I, pp. 41, and 49-50.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 55-56.

cycle of predatory plants, light searing the jagged rim of a broken vault; these were the things that delighted his sensibility.

This, then, was the immediate artistic environment from which Polidoro grew. The seeds of his innovation had been planted; it now remained for him to take a single but momentous step. That step was to transform landscape from its function as background to a new prominence as the main expressive idiom of the picture.

III

This step was taken in the San Silvestro landscapes. Landscape as an independent genre had appeared some years earlier in Germany and the Lowlands, so its advent in Italy is not surprising. But, as I said at the outset, that one of its earliest appearances should be on a monumental scale in a church is emphatically startling. A prototype in more secular circumstances should be imagined, yea desired.

As luck will have it, this prototype is suggested by a lost fresco that once adorned San Silvestro, not in the church itself, but in the more humble surroundings of the garden.

Vasari writes that Baldassare Peruzzi worked for Fra Mariano at San Silvestro: "—and for Fra Mariano, *Frate del Piombo*, he made a beautiful Saint Bernard done in monochrome [*terretta*] in the garden at Montecavallo—" All trace of this fresco has disappeared, and the passage would be only of passing interest were it not for a corroborative notice in Baglione.

This second notice is from Baglione's life of Paul Bril: "In the garden of the Theatine Fathers of Monte Cavallo, on the right side in a corner, he [Paul Bril] remade the landscape in the story of St. Bernard (who asked of Mary in what hour she was born) by Baldassare Peruzzi of Siena, in chiaroscuro fresco on the wall, perfectly painted."¹⁴

Peruzzi's St. Bernard was thus one example of a genre of painting which Vasari says was first popularized by Peruzzi,¹⁵ and then became the chief reason for Polidoro's fame: the outdoor decoration applied to the façades and garden walls of Roman palaces.¹⁶ In this case I believe the fresco was basically a landscape, and may have served as the model for Polidoro's work inside the church—of this more in a moment.

Before the reader adds this to his list of unfinished articles, I must hasten to clarify the proposition that Peruzzi's lost St. Bernard was, in fact, a landscape somewhat in the same sense as Polidoro's paintings.

The assumption is made simply if tenuously for this reason: from the 1580's on Paul Bril was the leading landscape specialist in Rome, rarely turning his hand to any other sort of decoration. It is difficult to imagine that he would have become involved in any restoration job that was not largely a question of landscape, and improbable if he did that his biographer would have bothered to mention it. For this reason alone I feel that Peruzzi's lost fresco was a picture in which landscape played a major role.

What did Peruzzi's landscape look like, and was it in the garden before Polidoro started to work? Sadly, the answer to both questions is a matter of speculation.¹⁷ Peruzzi's fresco may

13. Vasari-Milanesi, IV, p. 596. Adolfo Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, IV, v, Milan, 1932, p. 406, attributes the full-length paintings of the Magdalene and St. Catherine in the Polidoro Chapel to Peruzzi. This would make more tangible the relationship between the two men at San Silvestro, but one must have misgivings about the attribution: the soft drapery style is unlike that crisp, metal-ridged drapery that is Peruzzi's hallmark. Pacchiotti's suggestion (*op.cit.*, p. 204) that these figures are by Maturino is more reasonable, if unverifiable.

14. Giovanni Baglione, *Le vite de' pittori, scultori et archi-*

tetti, Rome, 1642, p. 296. San Silvestro was assigned to the Theatines under Paul IV: Ludwig Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, XIV, St. Louis, 1924, p. 243.

15. Vasari-Milanesi, V, p. 142.

16. This type of decoration was the subject of a show at the Palazzo Braschi a year ago: *Le case romane con facciate graffite e dipinte*, ed. C. R. Ridolfi, Roma, 1960.

17. A comparison of the topographical views in the Farnesina with the fantastic landscape in Peruzzi's *Adoration of the Magi* (Peruzzi drawing and sixteenth century copy in London, The National Gallery, numbers 167 and 218, respectively)

have been the direct model for Polidoro, but this is not the basic point: what I wish to suggest is that landscape painting in Rome started in the garden and upon the house façade,¹⁸ that Peruzzi should be assumed to have played some sort of important if undefinable part in this innovation, and that it then took an eccentric and playful patron in the person of Fra Mariano to conceive the idea of moving this sort of decoration inside a church, adding to it the graces of color.¹⁹ Whether Fra Mariano was stimulated by a landscape in his own garden, or by a generally current mode of decoration is hard to say. What is sure is that he initiated a long and fruitful tradition of church decoration.²⁰

Turning to the landscapes themselves, most characteristic of Polidoro's reordering of nature is his approach to the problem of creating illusionistic space. In his reliance upon parallel land masses with pockets of hidden space between them, he gives up any idea of space strictly ordered on the assumptions of one point perspective. His innovation takes us by surprise, but I believe its origins can be traced back to that important undertaking of the Raphael shop, the decoration of the Vatican loggia, carried out 1517-1519.

The landscapes of the rectangular Old Testament scenes contain these origins. In the *Finding of Moses* the setting is uncomplicated (Fig. 7). A group of women presses forward as the babe is lifted from the waters. So steeply does the Nile flow downhill that the water threatens to pour out of the bottom of the picture. As landscape, the fresco is unconvincing, and is the work of either a limited or immature talent groping for a spatial solution.

The setting in *Abraham and the Three Angels* is more successful (Fig. 8). The problem of a smooth transition from foreground to background is side-stepped by placing the figures on a raised platform of land. A valley runs into the distance, but with none of the precariousness of the Moses fresco. Large land masses line each side of the valley, moving back in parallel ranks. The bluff on the left seems to prefigure particularly the morphology at San Silvestro. But as intended, landscape here remains subordinated, a painted drop curtain. No real homogeneity of space is achieved.

The loggia landscapes appear to be the conception of a single mind. Their author was grappling with a problem that put him ill at ease. This problem was to achieve a satisfying sense of depth, particularly in the relation of foreground to the area immediately behind it. He preferred to approach the difficulty by avoiding it, usually by means of a raised foreground plateau. For more distant land masses he employed large tongues of land running parallel to the picture plane like so many stage wings. The one device that usually saves him is the inevitable river or valley that runs through the scene, and manages to hold it together.

Considered as space composition, these loggia landscapes are an inept prelude to Polidoro's

shows the difficulty of reconstructive speculations. However, the Farnesina landscapes are a special decorative mode, and certainly not typical. The landscape of the *Adoration* makes a provocative comparison with the Polidoro landscapes: in the background of this majestic composition three bluffs rise starkly from the plain, the profile of the central one silhouetted boldly against the sky, and its crown covered with large trees. The interest in this sort of dramatic repoussoir device is shared with Polidoro, yet one can say with confidence that Peruzzi used it first. An abrupt, dramatic bluff rises in the background of Peruzzi's *Holy Family*, London, Pouncey Collection (John Pope-Hennessy, "A Painting by Peruzzi," *Burlington Magazine*, 88, 1946, pp. 237-241). This picture can be placed in the early teens, and so pre-dates Polidoro's artistic beginnings. Whether Peruzzi's lost *St. Bernard* was this type of thing we shall probably never know.

Vasari's account (Vasari-Milanesi, IV, pp. 596-597) would suggest that Peruzzi's work at San Silvestro pre-dates his trip to Bologna in the early twenties, while as indicated above, Polidoro's landscapes in all probability do not date before

1523. Also, from 1520 onward Peruzzi was increasingly occupied with architectural commissions, and it seems, unlikely he would have had time for the decoration of prelates' gardens. However, this is circumstantial evidence of a tottering type.

18. For a house façade with a landscape, see the drawing reproduced by Rolf Kultzen in *Kunstchronik*, March 1961, p. 75.

19. It should be pointed out that Polidoro was famous for his work in gardens (Vasari-Milanesi, V, p. 150), and that he in fact worked in the garden at San Silvestro (*ibid.*, p. 147). It is probable that he painted outdoor landscapes before the works in the chapel, and even possible that it was he rather than Peruzzi who developed this particular form of outside decoration.

20. For instance Muziano's lost landscape at SS. Apostoli, the Bril landscapes at Santa Cecilia in Trastevere (where the painted frames of the frescoes imitate the marble frames at San Silvestro), and the interesting landscapes at San Vitale and San Martino ai Monti.

work at San Silvestro. The parallelism, the lack of smooth spatial recession, the use of *repoussoir* devices—all these things are shared in common, despite the far greater complexity and sophistication of the later commission. The backgrounds certainly prefigure San Silvestro, and should be assigned to Polidoro, as has been suggested recently.²¹ Vasari writes that Polidoro was first employed on the loggia as a worker. It was here that he picked up a brush, and showing a precocious talent, rapidly learned the art of painting.²² These loggia landscapes are just what one might expect from a beginner, grasping for the principles of an unfamiliar art.

However, to bridge the gap between the Loggia and San Silvestro requires an uncritical imagination, and more than a dash of charity. Fortunately an intermediate step provides this bridge. It is the set of mythological frescoes that once adorned the Villa Lante on the Janiculum.²³ Traditionally assumed to be the work of Giulio Romano, architect of the gracious villa, they have been attributed more recently to Polidoro, with absolute correctness, I feel.²⁴

The landscape in the Villa Lante *Flight of Cloelia* (Fig. 9) is similar to the setting in the Vatican *Finding of Moses*. The same sort of out-of-scale figures and the river that flows downhill are present in both, yet the Villa Lante landscape is more developed. In this development the bridge is made to San Silvestro. The spatial scheme of the Cloelia fresco approaches that of the Catherine landscape—the dominant mass of the hill to the right, echoed by the background cliff to the left.

If the Cloelia fresco bridges the gap between the Loggia and San Silvestro, the Villa Lante *Meeting of Janus and Saturn* sheds almost all memories of the Loggia (Fig. 10). The basic Polidoro formula has been worked out: on one side of the picture a towering land mass near the foreground; in the middle a river; and on the other side, further back in depth, another large land mass blocking any possible view of the horizon or of a distant vista.

It is still a large step from the compositional scheme of the Janus and Saturn to the Magdalene landscape, but one that is perfectly believable. The chief difference is one of format: in one case Polidoro was working with a relatively small rectangular area, in the other with a large surface that is almost square. This square format presented a greater challenge in terms of creating a powerful composition. As I have suggested, Polidoro solved the challenge by minimizing the sky and horizon, and so created interlocking surface areas.

Fascinating is the way in which Polidoro has borrowed an iconographical detail and turned it to use as a major formal device. I speak of the great cliff in the Magdalene landscape. Here one sees the Magdalene borne aloft by four angels. According to legend, when the Magdalene retired in Provence to her mountain retreat, angels came once each day and carried her heavenward for one hour so that she might take sustenance from their music.²⁵ This iconography was popular in northern Europe, especially in the circle of Joachim Patinir. Patinir may well have visited the miraculous mountain in Provence,²⁶ but it is a safe assumption that Polidoro did not. His vicarious

21. Frederick Hartt, *Giulio Romano*, New Haven, 1958, 1, p. 30.

22. Vasari-Milanesi, v, p. 142.

23. Irma Richter, *La collezione Hertz e gli affreschi di Giulio Romano nel Palazzo Zuccaro*, Leipzig, 1928, pp. 3-20. The frescoes are undocumented and undated, but the building itself is mentioned in a Castiglione letter of May 8, 1523.

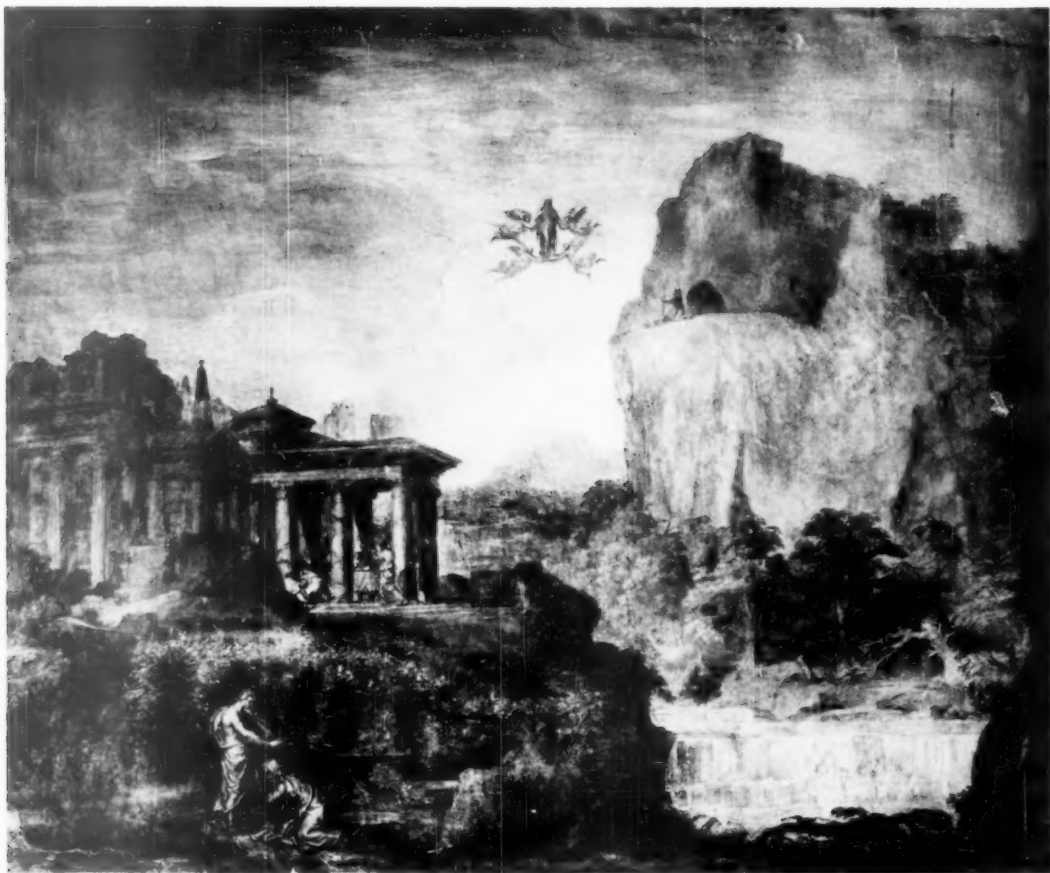
Further bibliography: Thorsten Steinby, *Villa Lante*, Helsingfors, 1953, and Adriano Prandi, *Villa Lante al Gianicolo*, Rome, 1954. Steinby dates the building ca. 1518-21, points out that the decoration of the Salone in which the frescoes were incorporated probably dates from the beginning of the reign of Clement VII.

24. Hermann Voss, *Die Malerei der Spätrenaissance in Rom und Florenz*, Berlin, 1920, 1, p. 82. Cited by Hartt, *op.cit.*, p. 64. Hartt points out that the same hand is responsible

for the grisailles in the Sala del Costantino, and Pacchiotti, *op.cit.*, pp. 198ff., gives these to Polidoro. The great fascination with roots and falling trees found at San Silvestro finds complement in the Villa Lante *Discovery of the Sibylline Books* (Richter, *op.cit.*, pl. vii). This taken together with the spatial structure of the frescoes leaves little doubt in my mind that the Villa Lante decoration is by Polidoro.

25. Jacobus de Voragine, *La legende dorée*, trans. T. de Wyzewa, Paris, 1939, pp. 344-345. I am grateful to R. A. Koch (who has an article forthcoming on this iconography in the North) for pointing out the exact meaning of this scene, which is usually simply termed the Assumption of the Magdalene.

26. On the Patiniresque pictures, and Patinir's hypothesized trip to Italy, see Godefridus Hoogewerff, "Joachim Patinir in Italie," *La revue d'art*, XLV, 1928, pp. 117-135.



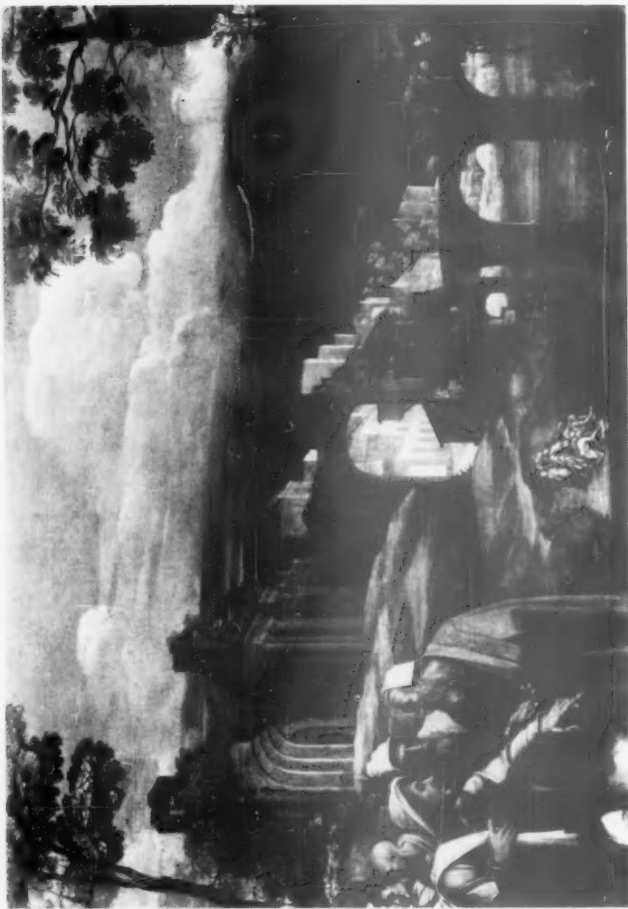
1. Polidoro da Caravaggio, *Landscape with Scenes from the Life of the Magdalene*
Rome, San Silvestro al Quirinale (photo: Gabinetto Foto. Naz.)



2. Polidoro da Caravaggio, *Landscape with Scenes from the Life of St. Catherine*
Rome, San Silvestro al Quirinale (photo: Gabinetto Foto. Nat.)



3. Bernardo Pintoricchio, *Martyrdom of St. Sebastian*. Vatican, Borgia Apartments
(photo: Alinari-Anderson)



4. Sebastiano del Piombo, *Raising of Lazarus* (detail). London, National Gallery
(photo: courtesy of the Trustees, National Gallery)



5. Giulio Romano, *Vision of Constantine* (detail)
Vatican, Sala del Constantino (photo: Archivio
Fotografico Vaticano)



6. Giulio Romano, *Stoning of St. Stephen* (detail). Genoa, Santo Stefano (photo: Alinari)



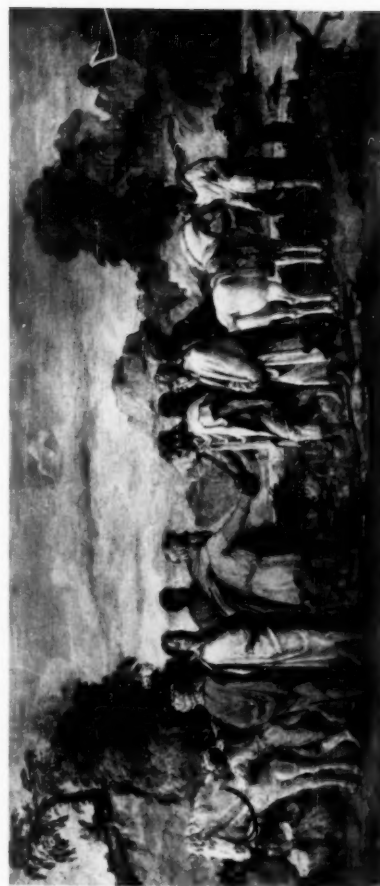
7. *Finding of Moses*, Vatican, Loggia of Raphael (photo: Alinari-Anderson)



8. *Abraham and the Three Angels*, Vatican, Loggia of Raphael (photo: Alinari-Anderson)



9. *Flight of Cloelia*, here attributed to Polidoro Rome, Palazzo Zuccaro (photo: Alinari-Anderson)



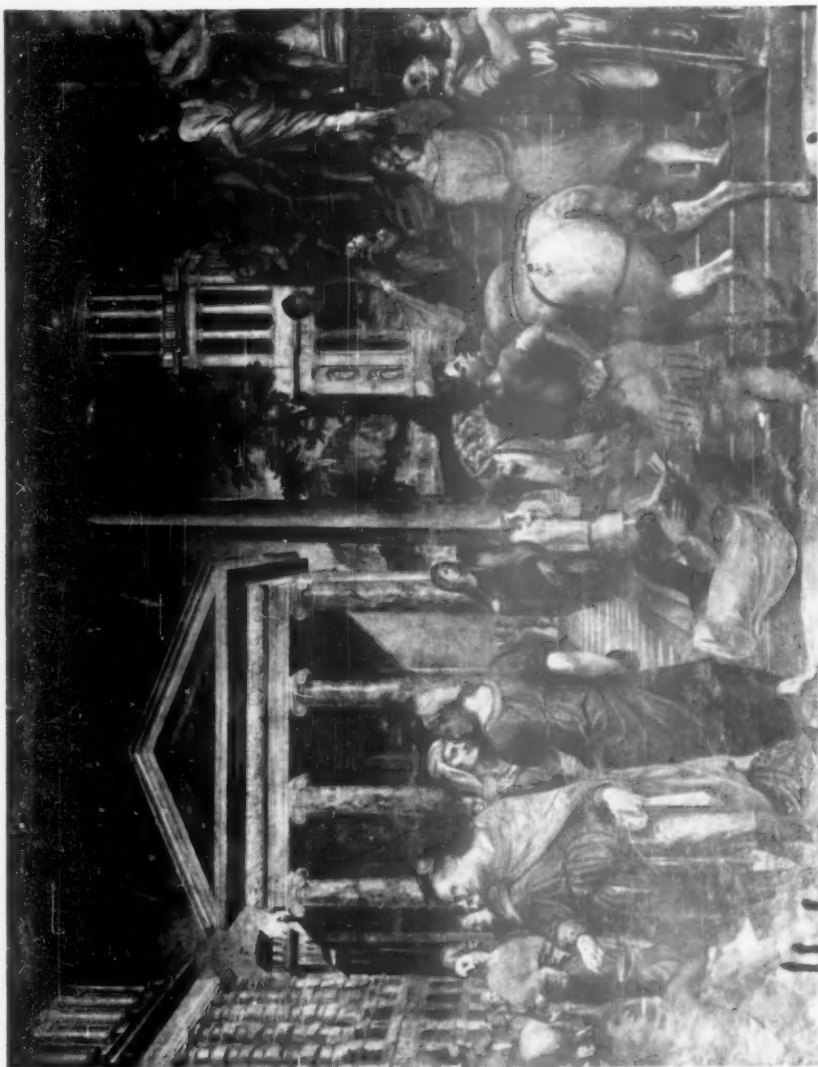
10. *Meeting of Janus and Saturnus*, here attributed to Polidoro Rome, Palazzo Zuccaro (photo: Alinari-Anderson)



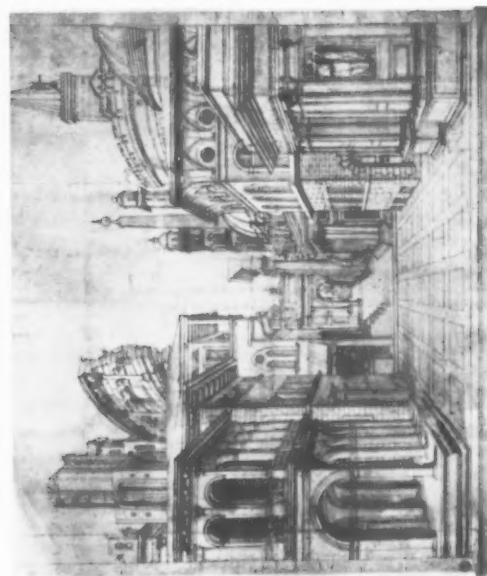
11. Lucas van Leyden, *Dance of the Magdalene* (detail)



13. Polidoro da Caravaggio, *Bearing of the Cross*, Naples, Museo di Capodimonte (photo: Alinari)



12. Baldassare Peruzzi, *Presentation in the Temple*, Rome, Santa Maria della Pace (photo: Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale)



14. Baldassare Peruzzi, *Stage Design*, Florence, Uffizi (photo: Soprintendenza alle Gallerie)

substitute for a pilgrimage was probably a small detail from a northern print. Polidoro's mountain appears (in reverse, with variations) in the far background of Lucas van Leyden's 1519 engraving, *The Dance of the Magdalene* (Fig. 11).²⁷ Taking a motif from Christian iconography, Polidoro also adopted a substantial building block for his imaginary landscape edifice. This borrowed element is introduced into the picture with subtlety. The edge of the cliff falls away with jagged irregularity, yet does not jar the composition in the least, for its irregular outline is complemented by the edge of the hill silhouetted against the waterfall and forest. It is because of sympathy to just such problems of harmony and consonance that Polidoro deserves to be remembered as a major landscapist.

If my conception of Polidoro's development is correct, then in the course of a decade he progressed from timid beginnings to assume the role of a major innovator. Soon after the landscapes at San Silvestro were completed, Rome suffered the humiliation of 1527. Polidoro moved south, lost to the main stream of European art. Had he remained, the art of landscape in Italy might have taken quite another direction.

As it was, landscape became more precious and contrived with the passing years. The monumentality of Polidoro's vision was a short-lived ideal. While much of that monumentality is a matter of space composition, it is strengthened by Polidoro's particular view of antiquity. It is this view, evolved in the orbit of Raphael and Peruzzi, that need now concern us.

Polidoro's work as a decorator of house façades is only now being studied with the seriousness it deserves.²⁸ The picture emerges of a Neoclassicist who thinks in black and white, whose repertoire roams the fields of Roman history and mythology. Vasari's description of a young man who avidly drew every fragment remaining above ground if not true is *ben trovato*.

With this in mind, one wonders whether Polidoro's landscapes are in any way fundamentally indebted to ancient painting. Here the answer is quite surely no. It is questionable whether much monumental painting was above ground in the 1520's, but more to the point, any broad comparisons with surviving ancient painting are lacking. The general morphology and spatial structure of the landscapes can be explained without reference to the antique.

On the other hand, in several details it is certain that Polidoro consulted what was available to him. Much of the painting of the teens and twenties—the Loggia, the Loggetta, the Baths of Bibbiena and Clement—was inspired by the *grotteschi* that filled the buried vaults of Roman ruins, in particular the Domus Aurea. Polidoro drew from this same source, taking special note of the small panels incorporated in the *grotteschi*. In the background of the Catherine landscape (Fig. 2) one can distinguish a long bridge, studded with small figures. The structure is much like an aqueduct, heavy arcades leading across the water to a tower at the far end. Above the tower a few buildings hug the hillside. The whole passage seems bathed in mist, and is executed in a most summary fashion. The town's structure is picked out with a few rapid horizontal and vertical brushstrokes of white, the bridge but roughed in. The general effect is strikingly like the small landscapes from Roman antiquity, and the technique leaves no doubt that this was Polidoro's source.

This debt to ancient painting remains a matter of detail, and contributes little to the general impression made by the landscapes. Rather the antique flavor of the picture seems to depend most heavily upon their architecture. A mixture of ruins and reconstructed forms, this architecture evokes a nostalgic world where the events of Christianity take place in the shadows of fallen grandeur. One finds a great variety of architectural forms in densely packed juxtaposition. The

27. F. W. H. Hollstein, *The Graphic Art of Lucas van Leyden*, Amsterdam, n.d., pp. 88-89. In fact, Lucas van Leyden's prints may have played an important role in the formation of Polidoro's ideas on landscape. Lucas's prints often have large land masses near the front of the picture which block the vista, much in the manner of the San Silvestro

paintings (for instance, the 1510 engraving, *The Return of the Prodigal Son*, Hollstein, p. 58).

28. By Rolf Kultzen (*Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, IX, 1960, pp. 99-120, and *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Hertzianae*, Munich, 1961, pp. 207-212).

buildings are so closely grouped in the Magdalene landscape that the effect is overly rich. A magnificent porch leads nowhere. A roofed-over dome rises behind, but so tightly cramped that it appears to be on top of the porch. To the left several columns carry a cornice, whose precise architectural logic is unclear, and beside this there is a small Republican temple. An obelisk stands out against the sky, and to the left sprawl brick ruins that recall the Palatine. Obelisk, palace, ruin, temple, stately porch—the hillside displays the grander forms of ancient Roman architecture.

Similar architecture is found in the Catherine landscape. The figures are placed in and before an Ionic portico, a sort of *scaenae frons* where disproportionately large actors play the scene. A pyramid, the arcaded bridge and a mausoleum are in the background. A Romanesque campanile rises in the distance, an architectural waif in this world of classical forms.

The architecture is that interesting combination of archaeology and romance already noted in the work of Giulio Romano. In fact, looking back to Giulio's *Stoning of St. Stephen*, one realizes how close was the artistic outlook of the two men. Both are touched by ruins, and both include an extravagant variety of buildings in their work. And yet Polidoro's architecture finds a better comparison in the work of another man; we return to the name of Baldassare Peruzzi, surely one of the most shadowy of all sixteenth century artists.

Looking at Peruzzi's much battered Santa Maria della Pace *Presentation in the Temple* (Fig. 12), one instinctively feels the generic resemblance of the architecture to that in the Magdalene landscape. But it remains an elusive affinity, for exact comparisons are wanting. Once again diversity of architectural forms is stressed. Peruzzi loves rich, columnar porches, Ionic columns of polished stone which support a stately entablature. The porch in the Magdalene landscape seems a part of the same architectural vocabulary. On the other hand, Peruzzi could evoke a light, airy quality, as in the three-tiered columnar structure in the right background of the *Presentation*. Some of the feel of this building is present in the Ionic portico of the Catherine landscape.

But these remain general parallels. Peruzzi disappears into the shadows, and the temptation to make erudite hay out of generic comparisons must be skirted. What may be reasonably asked is what lies behind this view of a partly reconstructed and partly ruined antiquity that fascinated Polidoro and his contemporaries.

At the base of this interest is of course that inquiry into the reconstruction of ancient Rome which seems to have preoccupied Raphael in his last years. Wedded to this was a related interest, the design of theater sets. This, too, was a part of the revival of antiquity; ancient drama was resurrected, ancient theater architecture read from the ruins and the precepts of Vitruvius.²⁹ While most of the leading masters in Rome tried their hands at set designs, Raphael included, Vasari writes that it was Peruzzi who was the innovator.³⁰ Although few remain, there is the famous Uffizi drawing of a stage set (No. 291), attributed to Peruzzi (Fig. 14).³¹ Here classical and mediaeval architecture mix, as do ruins and reconstruction. The buildings are tightly packed together, and the emphasis is upon a rich variety of architecture. The efforts to reconstruct Rome were doubtless both stimulated by, and contributed to, this art of stage design. The relation of Peruzzi's *Presentation* to the stage drawing, both in terms of setting and spatial concept is loose, but clear enough.

And to conclude? Polidoro's architecture is related to stage design? It is hardly that simple, for the spatial idea in each is totally unrelated,³² and Polidoro was surely not thinking consciously in terms of stage sets. And yet the whole interest in reconstruction, in the mixing of ruin and

29. On earlier Renaissance theater: Richard Krautheimer, "Tragic and Comic Scene of the Renaissance: The Baltimore and Urbino Panels," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XXXIII, 1948, pp. 327-346.

30. Vasari-Milanesi, IV, p. 600.

31. Discussed in nearly every work on early theater. For a bibliography of these, see Krautheimer, *op.cit.*, p. 329 n. 8.

32. The general relationship of illusionistic theater space and landscape space throughout Western painting would be a subject worth pursuing.

reconstruction, in a variety of architectural forms—these things played a major role in stage design, and were in the air. It could be put this way: the interests in antiquity and in theater set design were complementary aspects of Rome's intellectual life in the Renaissance, and cannot be separated from one another. It has been suggested recently that the Vatican *Fire in the Borgo* is inspired by theater art. And why not, provided that all one means by this is that the forms of architecture and the concept of space in both are loosely similar?³³ One might add that the Raphael tapestries are superb theater, a few of their settings conceived as stage space.³⁴ Raphael the archaeologist and Raphael the scenewright were one and the same man. It is unrealistic to suppose that these two interests would have remained sharply separated in a fine mind. Raphael and Peruzzi fused these pursuits in a spontaneous way: theater was seen in terms of ancient architectural forms, picture space in terms of the theater's illusionism, conversely theater in terms of the one point perspective developed in painting, picture settings in terms of theater settings. The pictorial arts in these years might be likened to a series of rapid, consecutive chemical reactions, it being difficult to say what or who was the catalytic agent at any given moment. The enthusiasms of the leading masters spread to the lesser men around them. Polidoro was receptive beyond most; consciously or unconsciously he built his antique fabric from the reservoir of motifs offered by the dual investigation of theater design and reconstructed antiquity.

A final problem remains, and that is how to account for the qualitative difference between the two landscapes. That a discrepancy exists is clear even from photographs. The Magdalene landscape is dirtied with varnish, but such passages as the waterfall and forest bear eloquent testimony to its original high quality. The Catherine landscape, on the contrary, appears flat and arid. It possesses a monochromatic brown tone save for certain colorful details, such as the Marriage group. Looking at both pictures in the original, these differences are magnified.

There is no doubt that the Catherine landscape has been more ravaged by time, and that a cleaning of both pictures might minimize the difference between them. Yet discrepancies would remain. To cite but two instances: there is a sensitive feeling for foliage in the Magdalene landscape; in the opposite picture a large tree juts out of the foreground bluff, the boughs heavy with coarsely painted leaves. Or again, in the Magdalene landscape the architecture is painted with firm assurance, while in the other the handling seems far more tentative. These are but details; rather it is the impression of freshness and confidence on the one hand as against a brittle dryness on the other that requires some sort of an explanation.

For the present this discrepancy must remain a problem, and a few more words will serve to intensify the enigma. The two landscapes are the product of one mind, for in compositional layout and general mood they are more alike than different. That mind is doubtless Polidoro's. But in the present state of the landscapes, one is sorely tempted to postulate two different hands. Vasari's life of Polidoro is coupled with that of Maturino, the Aretine characterizing the two as inseparable partners. So the process of logic would tell us that the other hand is that of Maturino. It would further suggest that the better (I say *better*, not different) picture, the Magdalene landscape, should be assigned to the famous Polidoro, the other to the more obscure figure that is Maturino.

Unfortunately, such a tidy solution would prove an ephemeral art historical bubble. As for hands, quite the reverse conclusion would suggest itself: the only other major picture of Polidoro where landscape plays an important role finds comparison not with the Magdalene scene, but with the less interesting St. Catherine landscape. That picture is Polidoro's *Bearing of the Cross*, in Naples (Fig. 13).³⁵

33. Kurt Badt, "Raphael's 'Incendio del Borgo,'" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXII, 1959, p. 40. Badt perhaps pushes his argument harder than is necessary, making too specific a good general idea.

34. Especially the *Sacrifice at Lystra* and *Paul Preaching at Athens*.

35. Painted for the Chiesa dell'Annunziata in Messina, today at Capodimonte, No. 103. See B. Molajoli, *Notizie su*

Given the difference in format, the compositional schemes in the two pictures are very similar. In both a foreground bluff forms a prominent *repoussoir*, and supports a tree whose boughs are silhouetted prominently against the sky. Middle distance is defined by a hill covered with architecture, and in far distance the vista is terminated by a towering mountain.³⁶ While interesting, this comparison does not directly affect the question of hands, for both San Silvestro landscapes are surely Polidoro's in composition.

Far more provocative is a color comparison between the St. Catherine landscape and the Naples picture. At Capodimonte one encounters the large Polidoro altarpiece after passing through a room hung with Raphael school pieces. After this array of smoky red-pinks, blues, greens, and yellows emerging from the shadows, it is a surprise to find an altarpiece whose dominating tone is light but dull gray-brown. Almost monotonous in effect, this brownish base is enhanced by the various reds in the costumes, and the banner carried by the horseman. The dominant tone of the picture, then, shows that same indifference to the possibilities of color in landscape as marks the St. Catherine scene. In this respect both works stand apart from the Magdalene landscape.

The two pictures share further characteristics in common. In both one finds a large tree whose leaves form a weighty silhouette against the sky. If anything, the tree in the *Bearing of the Cross* is an even more generalized formula than the tree in the St. Catherine landscape. Another peculiarity of the St. Catherine scene is the small area which apes ancient painting; exactly the same sort of a passage occurs in the *Bearing of the Cross*, at the base of the V where the two hills meet. Here one finds a rapidly sketched vista of a distant city, carried out in most summary strokes of white and gray.

In short, in composition, in color, in general feeling for nature and in archaeological interest the St. Catherine landscape and the *Bearing of the Cross* form a well-matched pair. They may be taken as typical of Polidoro's feeling for landscape. It is the other picture, the Magdalene landscape, that now seems somewhat foreign. How is this to be explained? There are at least three alternatives. First, we might assume that there are two hands, that the Magdalene landscape is a product of a great but unsung landscapist, Maturino, or an unknown Northerner. Secondly, it is possible that a restoration of the landscape would minimize the differences between them, but not quite in the manner at first foreseen; as said earlier, the Magdalene landscape has been retouched, and it is possible that the removal of this paint would alter considerably the mood of the picture. Finally, we could assume that both pictures are the work of Polidoro, the Magdalene landscape representing an inspired moment when the artist reached the height of his powers as a landscapist.³⁷ While I lean towards the last explanation, I do not feel any hypothesis means much until the landscapes are cleaned. At the present time, one may only say that the painter of the Magdalene landscape has tasted the freshness of the moist forest, and has seen all through a veil of atmosphere. His landscape is touched by a sense of immediacy. All of this has escaped the Catherine painter, be he another man, or the same man at a different moment. His interests are more archaeological, his approach less intuitive. In places he imitates ancient painting; the Marriage of St. Catherine is in fact the eclectic marriage between a Raphael Madonna and the compositional scheme of the *Disputa*. All in all, his landscape remains a more studied affair.

Capodimonte, Naples, 1958, p. 38. Roberto Longhi (*Paragone*, 21, 1951, p. 46) in a passing remark suggests that some of the more naturalistic passages of the picture are attributable to a northerner "nel genere dello Scorel." I see no reason to assume the presence of any hand other than Polidoro's.

36. This mountain is totally invisible in existing photographs. It is perhaps the most unusual feature of the picture, for its base is hidden by fog. This device, common in Chinese painting, lends a suggestive vastness to the scene, for scale becomes wholly ambiguous.

37. The fact that the landscape in the *Bearing of the Cross*

moves away from the realism of San Silvestro is hardly surprising: Polidoro would not have considered this picture a landscape, but a complex figure composition done with memories of Raphael's (and assistant's) famous *Spasimo di Sicilia* (Prado). As such the setting could not detract from the action. We must remember that first, last, and always the Italian artist regarded the human figure as of primary importance, all else as subordinate. See a fascinating concrete demonstration of this in Michelangelo Muraro's account of the Colleoni, in this issue, p. 272.

In a certain sense, both landscapes stand as a monument to the passing of the Roman High Renaissance. Their logical spatial structure pays tribute to a great teacher, Raphael. Without the indirect lesson of the Vatican *Stanze*, where the problems of space are rigorously investigated, these pictures might have had quite another appearance. But the very fact that landscape had become a genre of importance marked the passing of an age. The searching detail of these pictures is alien to Raphael's classical moment, but is shared in common with the pictures of the Raphael school, notably the Roman Madonnas of Giulio Romano. It is this realism that has been singled out as a prime characteristic of early Mannerism.³⁸

Finally, one could describe Polidoro's vision of landscape as that of an urban scholar. Touched here and there by a warm feeling for nature, it remains nevertheless an intellectual drive to build a rational spatial structure. The diffused light of a Roman sunset, the gentle ground swell of the Roman Campagna rolling from the Sabine Hills to the sea at Ostia—these things as yet remained a closed book to the Italian landscapist. A product more of the mind than the eye, Polidoro's landscape appeals to our sense of order more strongly than to our less tangible emotions. Herein lies the fundamental separation between Polidoro and a landscapist like Giorgione. Giorgione's landscape is equally a matter of artifice, but we willingly accept it for its evocativeness, for the color and atmosphere which is its beginning and end. Polidoro's world is made of sterner stuff. Less immediately accessible, it nonetheless is the foundation stone of that durable order achieved a century later by Nicholas Poussin and Claude Lorrain.

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38. By Giuliano Briganti, *Il Manierismo e Pellegrino Tibaldi*, Rome, 1945, pp. 34ff.

Il primo punto che si deve considerare è l'importanza del lavoro per la società. Il lavoro è la base di ogni attività umana e senza di esso non si può vivere. Per questo è necessario che ogni cittadino si impegni in un'attività lavorativa che contribuisca al benessere della comunità.

Il secondo punto riguarda la qualità del lavoro. Non basta solo lavorare, ma bisogna farlo con serietà e dedizione. La qualità del lavoro dipende dalla competenza e dall'etica del lavoratore. È importante che ogni professionista si impegni a fornire il miglior servizio possibile ai propri clienti.

Il terzo punto è legato alla responsabilità sociale delle imprese. Le aziende non devono pensare solo ai profitti, ma anche al loro impatto sulla società. Devono adottare politiche che rispettino l'ambiente e i diritti dei lavoratori, e contribuire allo sviluppo della comunità in cui operano.

Infine, è importante ricordare che il lavoro è un diritto e un dovere. Ogni cittadino ha il diritto di accedere a un'attività lavorativa che gli permetta di sostentare se stesso e la propria famiglia. Allo stesso tempo, ha il dovere di contribuire al bene comune attraverso il proprio lavoro.

CONCLUSIONI

In conclusione, il lavoro è un elemento fondamentale per la vita di ogni individuo e per lo sviluppo della società. Per questo è necessario che tutti i cittadini si impegnino in un'attività lavorativa che sia produttiva e socialmente responsabile. Le imprese hanno il dovere di adottare politiche che rispettino l'ambiente e i diritti dei lavoratori, e di contribuire allo sviluppo della comunità. Infine, è importante ricordare che il lavoro è un diritto e un dovere, e che ogni cittadino ha il diritto di accedere a un'attività lavorativa che gli permetta di sostentare se stesso e la propria famiglia.

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THE EARLY HISTORY OF SANT'ANDREA DELLA VALLE

HOWARD HIBBARD

SANT'ANDREA DELLA VALLE is the most significant Roman church designed during the two generations that lie between Vignola's Gesù and Borromini's San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane.¹ Architecturally, its most magnificent feature is the dome, designed by Maderno and Borromini in the early 1620's. Artistically, the church is even more famous for the fresco decorations by Domenichino and Lanfranco, the respective masterpieces of these famous rivals. Visually, the church is at least notable to passers-by for Carlo Rainaldi's façade of 1660-1665. But with respect to historical significance, the church may well be most commanding because of its impressive nave (Fig. 1). That part of the church was begun in the 1590's and, according to Giovanni Baglione, was designed by one Pietro Paolo Olivieri, "sculptor and architect." Baglione states that Olivieri

Fece il modello, e fu architettore della fabrica di s. Andrea della Valle, & a qualche buon termine quella mole ridusse; E se l'Olivieri non moriuà sì presto, hauerebbe ordinate le maggiori fabriche di Roma, ma la morte il tolse prima del tempo, se non che in quanto resta anche hoggi viuò alla fama.²

This positive and apparently well-informed statement from the usually reliable Baglione has been almost unanimously accepted,³ but it is wrong. There were at least murmurs of dissent within the century and a half following the construction of the nave. A marginal note in a copy of Baglione's *Lives* belonging to the library of the Accademia dei Lincei in Rome states that Giacomo della Porta (1533-1602), the leading architect of his time, ". . . fece il disegno di Sant'Andrea della Valle."⁴ Even if anonymous, this attribution would be of the greatest interest since Della Porta would have been a much more logical choice as the designer of so important a church, but in this case the value of the statement is heightened considerably by the fact that the note is apparently in the hand of no less a person than Giovanni Pietro Bellori.⁵

In addition, the much maligned *Lives of Neapolitan Artists* by Bernardo de Dominici, published in 1743, claims that Padre Francesco Grimaldi was called from Naples "per erigere quella famosa Chiesa [Sant'Andrea della Valle] e dopo ritornato in Napoli. . ."⁶ Grimaldi, who lived from

1. This paper was first stimulated by Professor Wolfgang Lotz in a seminar given in Rome during the summer of 1957 under the auspices of the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University. Dr. Heinrich Thelen and Henry Millon gave me the results of their own work in the archives, and sent microfilms at a critical time. I am particularly grateful to Milton Lewine for a number of illuminating suggestions; in addition, he read the text and revised its form. Finally, I must thank the Columbia University Council for Research in the Humanities for a grant that permitted me to complete my research during the summer of 1960.

2. Giovanni Baglione, *Le Vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti*, Rome, 1642, pp. 76f. (henceforth: "Baglione").

Olivieri was born in 1551. An outline of his sculptural activity is found in Thieme-Becker; cf. also Alberto Riccoboni, *Roma nell'Arte . . .*, Rome, 1942, pp. 98ff., and note 59 below.

3. E.g., Filippo Titi, *Studio di pittura, scoltura, et architettura . . .*, Rome, 1674, p. 145. With the exception mentioned in note 49 below, modern writers have followed Baglione and the guides.

4. In the facsimile edition published by the R. Istituto d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte, edited by Valerio Mariani,

Rome, 1935, p. 80, left margin. These notes, and those found in another copy in the same library, are transcribed in an appendix to the reprint.

For Della Porta's career, see Werner Körte's biography in Thieme-Becker, and below. The dates of his birth and death are given by Armando Schiavo, "Notizie biografiche su Giacomo della Porta," *Palladio*, VII, 1957, p. 41.

5. Dr. Jacob Hess, who is editing Baglione, has made the most thorough study of the *postille*; he very generously writes me that the hand of this notation seems to be Bellori's. The next sentence following, "Sopra, a c. 76, si attribuisce a Pietro Paolo Olivieri," he attributes to Giovanni Bottari.

Mariani, in his introduction to the reprint of Baglione, p. v, wrote: ". . . trattandosi di scegliere tra gli esemplari migliori di quest'opera, si vide giustamente l'opportunità di riprodurre uno di quelli con note marginali manoscritte, . . . e precisamente quello dove sono più frequenti le postille di G. P. Bellori." See also his appendix, p. 1 n. 1.

6. *Vite de' pittori, scultori, ed architetti napoletani*, II, Naples, 1743, p. 257. Further information is found below, and in notes 94ff.

1543 to 1613, was the chief Theatine architect in this period; Sant'Andrea is the main church of the Theatines in Rome, and so this attribution is also worth attention. Thus, in opposition to Baglione, we have two plausible attributions to genuine architects, rather than to a mediocre sculptor, and both attributions come from a period close enough to the actual events to merit consideration. In reality, all three sources are partially correct: Della Porta, Grimaldi, and Olivieri all played roles either in the design or in the construction of the church. The whole story is told in some detail in documents in the church archives, now preserved in the Roman Archivio di Stato.⁷ My study will use this material to reveal the designers of the older part of the church and will re-examine the architecture in order to assess its importance.

I

The emergence of the Theatines from the Roman Oratory of Divine Love in 1524 was one of the first symptoms of the Counter-Reformation. The Theatines were priests, bound by monastic vows, who did not aspire to ecclesiastical benefices. As a result of the austerity of life demanded by the new Order, it grew in numbers rather slowly. Nor was its cause made more sympathetic by the accession to the pontificate of one of the founders, Gian Pietro Caraffa, as the unpopular Paul IV (1555-1559). By contrast, the Jesuit Order was confirmed later, in 1540, but its growth and influence in the following decades were sensational. The first period of Jesuit entrenchment was fittingly climaxed by the construction of a monumental church, the Gesù (Fig. 2 and text fig. 2), begun in 1568 under the patronage of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese.⁸

The Theatines failed to attract a comparable Maecenas. Until the 1580's the Roman house had to be content with the church of San Silvestro on the Quirinal and its adjoining monastery, both of which had been given to them by Paul IV. As opportunity arose, these were enlarged and embellished,⁹ but San Silvestro was then on the outskirts of the city, and the Theatines needed a central location if they hoped to rival the popular Jesuits and Oratorians. In the capitular reunion of 1584, held at San Silvestro, the Order determined to found a new *casa* and church in the heart of Rome.¹⁰ The means were already provided in part, for in 1582 Donna Costanza Piccolomini of Aragon, Duchess of Amalfi, had left her family palace to the Order.¹¹ This building (Figs. 3-6) stood to the rear of the "Piazza di Siena" (in Fig. 4, no. 81; in Fig. 5, no. 117).¹² The site, between the Gesù and the Cancelleria, fell ideally in the center of patrician Rome. The Theatines took possession of the property only in May of 1586,¹³ but quickly put up a temporary church. It was dedicated to St. Andrew, the protector of Amalfi, as Donna Costanza's will had specified,¹⁴ and was consecrated on October 31, 1586.¹⁵ The church stood within the courtyard, and the palace around it served as the monastery.

7. Archivio di Stato, Rome, *Corporazioni religiose*, Teatini di S. Andrea della Valle (henceforth: "ASR, Corp. relig.").

8. See Pio Pecchiai, *Il Gesù di Roma*, Rome, 1952, and Pietro Pirri, *Giovanni Tristano e i primordi della architettura gesuitica*, Rome, 1955, pp. 138ff.

9. Ludwig von Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste* . . . , VI, Freiburg i. B., 1928, p. 495. Cf. IX, p. 88, and p. 879, Anhang no. 49.

10. Giovanni Battista del Tufo, *Historia della religione de' padri chierici regolari* . . . , Rome, 1609, pp. 216f., gives the history of this period.

11. Attilio Boni, *La chiesa di S. Andrea della Valle* (Conferenza letta all'Associazione Archeologica Romana la sera dell' 8 Dicembre 1907), Rome, 1908, pp. 6f., prints the documents; the donation to the Theatines reads in part: "havendo anco risoluto, che il palazzo detto di Siena, dove al presente sta il Seminario di questa città di Roma, rimasto nell'heredità predetta . . . nella quale [casa] . . . si eriga un collegio delli sopradetti Padri Chierici Regolari. . . ."

12. Boni, *op.cit.*, p. 8, shows that the Palazzo Piccolomini

was built between 1460 and 1471 by Cardinal Francesco Todeschini-Piccolomini, nephew of Pius II Piccolomini and the future Pius III. On May 29, 1476 Todeschini gave the palace to his two brothers, Jacomo and Andrea.

On pp. 11f., Boni prints the Cardinal's own description of the palace. Paolo Romano, *S. Eustachio* (Roma nei suoi rioni), Rome, 1937, pp. 93ff., and *idem*, *Roma nelle sue strade e nelle sue piazze*, s.v., "Siena," and "S. Andrea della Valle," give further topographical information.

13. Boni, *op.cit.*, p. 9, reports that in May of 1586 the *Capitolo* meeting in Milan ordered Padre Lorenzo, Preposito of S. Silvestro, to take possession of the free part of the palace; shortly afterward a Bull of Sixtus V ordered the Jesuits out permanently. Del Tufo, *Historia* . . . , 1609, p. 128, says that the building was used by the young pupils of the Seminario Romano until May of 1584, which may be a misprint.

14. Archive of Sant'Andrea della Valle, no. 110, *Erezione della Casa di S. Andrea*, 1586, fol. 1, refers to a public instrument by "Joannem de Avila" of July 6, 1582 to this effect.

15. Del Tufo, *Historia*, p. 219: "... i Padri incominciarono,

The little church was immediately popular; flocks of Romans, fired with Counter-Reformatory zeal, tried to cram themselves into the small space to hear the Theatine preachers. Plans for a larger church were drawn up even before a patron was found. But very soon, probably no later than in 1588, Cardinal Alfonso Gesualdo (?-1603) decided to underwrite a large new church.¹⁶

One of the Theatines in residence, Padre Francesco Grimaldi, submitted drawings which he had made during the period when the Fathers had only dreamed of building a new church. Grimaldi's very presence in Rome seems to point to the intention of the Theatines to build an important church after his design if financial support could be found.¹⁷ Cardinal Gesualdo's original idea seems to have been to use plans by Giacomo della Porta, his preferred architect, who worked for him in succeeding years.¹⁸ Gesualdo's first instinct, apparently bolstered by Della Porta, was to dismiss the priest's efforts as amateurish productions. But when news of the new commission broke, probably late in 1588, other architects submitted drawings too, thereby forcing a kind of competition. Ultimately Gesualdo, if only because of insistent Theatine pressure, let Grimaldi emerge the winner. Perhaps the Cardinal decided that it would be more politic to have his architect revise the Theatine's plans than to reject them out of hand.¹⁹

Extensive statements about this phase of the history of the design were recorded as evidence in an inheritance dispute of 1603-1605 between the Theatines and the heirs of Cardinal Gesualdo.²⁰ From these depositions and summaries we learn much more about the designs and the designers than is customarily known in this period. From Grimaldi's own later statement we learn that Della Porta was Gesualdo's architect, and that he himself was the Theatines'. It is clear that Grimaldi's favorite design, a five-domed affair, was rejected with some spirit.²¹ Even his winning project was accepted only after hesitation, and was subject to extensive revision by Della Porta and perhaps others.²² According to one Theatine record, the design was "accomodato però specialmente dal s.^r Jac.^o della Porta b.m. et da altri, et è apunto q(ue)sto che hora è posto in pratica. . . ."²³ A Theatine witness of 1604 expressly stated that Grimaldi's first plan "fu reformato dalli d(et)ti P.D. Franc(esc)o e Giacomo della Porta e ridotto de Consenso del d(ett)o Card(in)a le alla forma del disegno c'hoggi si seguita. . . ."²⁴ At the time that the drawings and plans were under preliminary discussion our witness reported that Cardinal Gesualdo visited the monastery

à honor di Sant'Andrea Apostolo, nel cortile dell'istesso Palagio, una Chiesa, nel miglior modo che fu possibile, e poscia servendosi della rimanente parte, che restara alla Chiesa congiunta, per loro habitatione . . . l'anno 1586. la Vigilia di tutti i Santi, che venne in Venerdì, vi s'incominciò à celebrare le Messe . . . guadagnando . . . gran concorso di popolo. . . ." (The same information is reported in the "diary" in the Archive of S. Andrea della Valle [note 14 above], fol. 1^v.) An *avviso* of November 8, 1586 reports that on the preceding Sunday "fu aperta la nova chiesa di S. Andrea nella piazza di Siena, dove era il seminario di quei padri Theatini di S. Silvestro de Montecavallo, a quali donò quel palazzo la duchessa morta d'Amalfi" (printed in Pastor, *op.cit.*, x, p. 598, Anhang, no. 18). Francesco del Sodo, *Compendio delle Chiese con le loro fondatione* . . . , 1575-1598, *Bibl. Vat. lat.* 11911, fol. 177: "Sant'Andrea apostolo nel Palazzo di Siena luogo così nominato questa è una Chiesa nuova vicina alla Valle nel Palazzo sud(et)to fatta l'anno 1586. per legato fatto dall Ecc(e)l(en)ti^a.^a S.^a Duchessa di Melf la qual Chiesa a da esser maggiore e qui vi stanno li Chierici Regolari chiamati li Teatini . . . quali la cominciarono ad offziare il giorno della solenita di tutti li santi del 1586 . . ." (I am indebted to Professor Lotz for calling this work to my attention; the different manuscripts are discussed at some length in Christian Huelsen, *Le chiese di Roma nel medio evo*, Florence, 1927, pp. xx f. and xxix ff.).

16. Gesualdo was a member of a famous Neapolitan family who were Princes of Venosa. His nephew, Prince Carlo (1560?-1614), was the great madrigalist and harmonic innovator. Alfonso was made Cardinal Deacon by Pius IV Medici in 1561. On March 4, 1583 he was made Bishop of Albano,

and on December 11, 1587 Bishop of Frascati. In 1589 he was transferred to the Bishopric of Porto, and on March 20, 1591 he became Bishop of Ostia and Dean of the Sacred College. On February 12, 1596 he became, strangely enough, Archbishop of Naples, where he chiefly resided until his death on February 14, 1603 (Conrad Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica medi et recentioris aevi* . . . , III, Münster, 1910, p. 42, and IV, 1935, p. 254). See notes 52 and 66 below.

17. See below and notes 94ff., especially note 101.

18. See Doc. IX in the Appendix following this text, and below, notes 93 and 114ff.

19. See Appendix, Doc. IX. The early history of the commission is told by Grimaldi himself in this statement of 1604. The document is consequently of the highest value even if we must allow for some bias in the telling, since Grimaldi considered himself aggrieved in his relations with Cardinal Gesualdo (see below, note 61).

20. Our Docs. VII through XIV pertain to this dispute.

21. The rejection of the five-dome scheme is recorded by the well-informed Theatine of Doc. XIII. Docs. XVI-XVIII record the criticism made of this project when Grimaldi tried to have it adopted at the time construction resumed in 1608.

22. Doc. XVI, no. 19. Compare Grimaldi's recollections in Doc. IX with the testimony of 1604 given by XI (5f. and 7), XIII (21), and XIV (28v and 30v; XI and XIV seem to have been poorly informed).

23. Doc. VII (paragraph 3), a draft of the official Theatine position in the inheritance dispute with Gesualdo's heirs; cf. Doc. VIII.

24. Doc. XIII (21v).

almost every day with "Jacomo della Porta Architetto."²⁵ When time came to measure out the plan of the church on the actual site, preparatory to digging the foundation, Grimaldi and Della Porta did the work together.²⁶ In 1591, the year construction began, we also find Della Porta active on the site of the church as *misuratore* of a house purchased by the Theatines,²⁷ and at the same time he appears as Cardinal Gesualdo's architect for minor work in his palace.²⁸ There can consequently be no doubt that Della Porta was Gesualdo's architect during the period when the new church was designed. He is still mentioned as being involved when the chapel foundations were enlarged, presumably in 1592-1593.²⁹ After that date there is no evidence of his activity for the church; the chapel enlargement was, significantly, the last change made in the plan during Gesualdo's lifetime, and Della Porta did not involve himself in the execution. The entire situation recalls the parallel case at the Gesù, where Vignola, Cardinal Farnese's architect, fought out the designs with the Jesuit architect Tristano.

II

Gesualdo firmly decided to begin construction of the new church by the spring of 1589. On March 21, 1589 he had already given permission to quarry stone for Sant'Andrea in his bishopric of Porto.³⁰ On April 22 he made an initial payment of 1000 *scudi*, the first of a series that was supposed to amount to 3000 *scudi* a year.³¹ Measurements on the site were immediately begun but revealed that the large church which was planned could not fit into the space available: i.e., the Piazza di Siena and the site of the Palazzo Piccolomini. It was necessary to move the site forward toward the Via Papale, which made it desirable to raze the old church of San Sebastianello in order to have some space in front of the façade of the new building.³² Pope Sixtus V was not eager to allow this, and the delay between Gesualdo's first payment of April 1589 and the laying of the cornerstone on February 12, 1591 is chiefly explained by the manoeuvres necessary for gaining permission to include the site of San Sebastianello in the new church, and for the purchase of the houses which surrounded San Sebastianello.³³ The whole operation was unusual, for a piazza in the center of Rome was an almost holy thing, while the little church was of course truly sacred and commemorated one of Christendom's most popular saints, whose body had supposedly been thrown in the sewer below the site.³⁴ It was perhaps the possibility of gaining a *largo* in the Via Papale which finally led Sixtus V to permit the Theatine plans. By allowing the new church to

25. *Ibid.*

26. Doc. IX.

27. ASR, *Corp. relig.*, 2161, no. 159, fol. 41 (among loose sheets):

"A di 20. di luglio 1591

Misura et stima di certe Casette, qual sono di Mr. Gio. Pietro Vanperio, situate vicino à S.^{to} Andrea di Theatini al Paradiso, qual case comprano li d.ⁱ R.^{di} Padri di Sant'Andrea per far la lor fabrica, qual Case sono state misurate, et stimate per mr. Jacomo della Porta Architetto per d.ⁱ Theatini. . . ."

28. ASR, *Archivio del Collegio de' Notari Capitolini*, Notary H. Fabrius, 2485, fols. 494ff., June 14, 1591. The bill, for very minor repairs, is signed "La sopradetta op.^a monta scudi quaranta quatro et b(a)occhi 85 Jac.^o Delaporta." *Ibid.*, 2487, fols. 141ff., September 17, 1591, contains a document pertaining to property belonging to Gesualdo which speaks of the "Selva che si lascia d.^o . . . Card.^{le} possa farci della legna per uso di (Gesualdo) . . . o per la chiesa che volesse fabricare . . . Mag.^{co} Jacobo a porta . . . Testibus. . . ." All of this confirms the reports in Docs. VII and VIII.

29. Doc. XII (11). For the date, see below.

30. ASR, *Corp. relig.*, 2119 (unnumbered folder).

31. See note 50 below.

32. Doc. VIII. The reliable Doc. VII clarifies the story by saying that the site was not large enough, and so it was decided

to move the church forward. The site, including the Massimi territory, is seen in our Fig. 8.

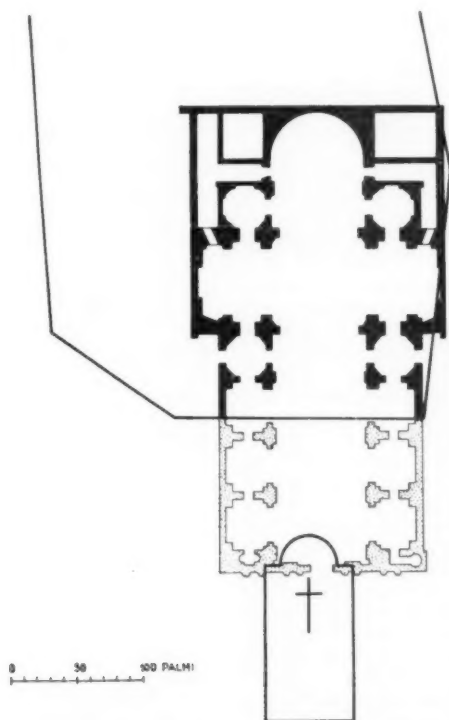
33. ASR, *Corp. relig.*, 2161, no. 159, fol. 31, January 2, 1590: "N.S. PP. Sisto Quinto habbia donato tutta la chiesa di S. Sebastianello à d.^{ti} . . . Teatini per fabricare la nova chiesa di S. Andrea . . ." (see Doc. 1). Legal documents are to be found in *ibid.*, 2110, no. 21. A document of August 18, 1590, fols. 2-7v, records the final suppression of San Sebastiano in favor of Sant'Andrea, the transfer of graves, etc. (see below, and note 37).

The date of the cornerstone is given variously. Our Doc. VII, which seems trustworthy, gives February 12. ASR, *Corp. relig.*, 2140, no. 102 (copy of a legal document), reports the date as February 10. The "Diary" quoted in note 14 above, fol. 2, gives the month as February, but the numbers of the date are now missing. Less reliable sources give the date as March 12 (Pastor, *op.cit.*, XI, p. 680), or as April 13. The *avvisi* are silent on this occasion: everyone's attention was focused on the famine which was then scourging Rome (*Urb. lat.* 1051, I, fols. 92, 100v, and *passim*).

34. For San Sebastiano de via Papae, see Rodolfo Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi di Roma*, IV, 1913, p. 171; Huelsen, *Le chiese* . . . , pp. 460f., no. 49 (with bibliography); and Mariano Armellini, *Le chiese di Roma* . . . , ed. Cecchelli, I, Rome, 1942, pp. 555f. See below, note 38.

absorb the high altar area of San Sebastianello, while destroying the rest of the old edifice, the Pope was able to open up a space before the new church; this must have been an endearing project to the great city-planner. The old buildings were measured more than once under the guidance of the full force of papal architects and *misuratori*.³⁵ In August of 1590 San Sebastianello was formally suppressed in favor of the new church, which added the old dedication to its name.³⁶ A note in a Theatine "diary" of the period announces that on January 16, 1591 "fuit dicta ecclesia s.^{ti} sebastianelli diruta e profanata."³⁷ Immediately a wall was built around the site to protect the holy ground.³⁸

It is obvious from what has been said that the main body of San Sebastianello remained uncovered by Sant'Andrea, leaving a *largo* in front of the new church which can be seen on all the Rome maps of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (cf. Fig. 7). Thus the construction of the 1590's began at the façade end and occupied almost exclusively the old Piazza di Siena between the Palazzo Piccolomini and San Sebastianello (Fig. 6).³⁹ This explains why the Cinquecento nave was only two chapels long: there was not room for more in front of the Palazzo Piccolomini, and it is therefore obvious that the palace was doomed from the start (text fig. 1).



1. Sant'Andrea della Valle, Rome. Plan, with conjectural sites of San Sebastianello and the Palazzo Piccolomini shown in outline. Dotted parts built before 1600; solid parts after 1608

35. A measurement of objects in San Sebastianello dated October 2, 1589 was signed by Prospero Rocchi, the chief *misuratore* of Domenico Fontana under Sixtus V (ASR, *Corp. relig.*, 2119, unnumbered folder). Measurements and estimates of the church and site preparatory to its destruction are found in *ibid.*, 2161, no. 159, dating January 2 and February 19, 1590, and *ibid.*, 2110, no. 21, fols. 7v f., May 4, 1590 (by Martino Longhi).

36. Document cited in note 33 above. The parish of San Sebastianello was transferred to Santa Susanna.

37. *Op.cit.* (note 14 above), fol. 2.

38. Doc. II. To commemorate the patron saint of the old church a memorial chapel to St. Sebastian was founded on or near the site of the old high altar, to the left of the main entrance, off the first (Barberini) chapel. The important inscription in this chapel is recorded in Vincenzo Forcella, *Inscrizioni delle chiese e d'altri edifici di Roma . . .*, VIII, Rome, 1876, p. 264, no. 663, dated 1616.

39. Armellini-Cecchelli, *Le chiese di Roma*, I, p. 543, reproduces a copy of a sketch plan of the area "ca. 1600" (Fig. 8). It appears that in this early period the temporary church in the palace court served as the tribune (see note 65 below).

"Misure degli fondamenti della fab.^a della Chiesa di S. And.^o" were made on June 27, 1591.⁴⁰ Another measurement of January 7, 1593 speaks of joining the foundations of the new church to those of the palace, as well as much other work.⁴¹ After the foundation had been laid it was found necessary to make the chapel areas deeper, the Cardinal "desiderando di fare cosa magnifica."⁴² Since the foundations were begun in 1591 and apparently finished in 1593,⁴³ the decision to increase the depth of the chapels must have been made ca. 1592. In June of 1593 "si lasciò di fabricare acciochè si posassero i fond(amen)ti. . ."⁴⁴ Gesualdo's supervising architect at this time seems to have been Francesco da Volterra, who was soon sacked, supposedly because of an unrealistic estimate of the expense necessary to build the church.⁴⁵ So completely did he disappear from the works that the master mason thought he had died.⁴⁶ Building above ground began in October of 1594 and continued into 1596.⁴⁷ By this time considerable decorative stone work was cut and in place—part of an architrave, cornice, and six capitals are mentioned in a measurement of August 17, 1595.⁴⁸ Soon after this date the first two chapels on both sides of the nave were completed up to the cornice.⁴⁹ Gesualdo's payments were made quite regularly through 1593, but from that time on money was less and less easily obtained from him.⁵⁰ By 1596 the new nave had been finished,

40. Doc. II. More work of 1591 is recorded in Doc. III. On June 3, 1592, Matteo Canevale was hired as the new *Capomastro muratore*; *capitoli* of that date show Domenico Fontana to have stood as guarantor for Canevale; on June 10 Carlo Maderno witnessed the document (ASR, *Corp. relig.*, 2119, unnumbered folder). Canevale himself tells us (Doc. XI, 7) that he was not the mason for the foundations, "ma dopo che si è fabricato sopra terra son stato io capo mastro. . .". Thus the main foundations were presumably built between February of 1591 and June of 1592—but see below.

41. ASR, *Corp. relig.*, 2119 (no folder number), in a continuation of a document of September 23, 1592, reports "le gioncione del fondamento del palacio. . .". This is a document of Matteo Canevale, and so reflects on his statement quoted in note 40 above. The total value of the work was 1194.35 *scudi*, in addition to the payment of 492.50 *scudi* made to Canevale on September 23, 1592 "per fabriche fatte sino addi d'hoggi. . .".

42. Doc. VII; cf. the statements of XI and XII, all of which agree in essentials.

43. Doc. VII.

44. Doc. VII. Doc. XI asserts that the chapels on each side were widened 7 *palmi* (1.56 meters), which means that the church was widened overall by slightly more than three meters. Doc. VII tells us that the larger church made it necessary to buy neighboring houses for the street and for a new piazza at the side. The piazza was to be on the site of houses bought from Francesco Caffarelli on March 15, 1593 (ASR, *Corp. relig.*, 2110, no. 21, fol. 43ff., evaluated at 2700.41 *scudi* by Flaminio Ponzio and Bernardino Valperga). Houses belonging to Giuliano Maniscello were purchased for the street as early as May 1, 1592 (*ibid.*, fols. 32ff.); on June 6, 1592 the measurement was settled by ". . . io Fran.^{co} detto Volterra eletto terzo perito in una differenza, et misura fatta . . . sopra d'una casa posta vicino dove hoggi si fa la Chiesa nobile di S. Andrea . . ." (fol. 33).

45. Cf. Doc. XIII, in addition to the less accurately informed workmen in XI and XIV, both of whom thought that Volterra was the first "architect" (i.e., *soprastante*?) of Sant'Andrea della Valle. It should be emphasized that none of the documents implies that the design of the church was by Volterra. Della Porta was also called in at the time of the chapel enlargement (Doc. XII, 11).

46. Doc. XI and note 55 below. This is perhaps only coincidental with Baglione's mistaken information that he died under Sixtus V (p. 49). In fact, he lived until 1601 (Mario Zocca, "L'architetto di S. Giacomo in Augusta," *Bollettino d'arte*, XXIX, 1936, p. 521). Volterra appears as the architect of the Conclave in January 1592, and it is consequently not sur-

prising that Gesualdo, the Dean of the Sacred College, should have patronized him at this time (ASR, *Camerale I*, *Giustificazioni di Tesoreria*, 20, January 2-10, 1592).

47. Doc. VII.

48. Doc. IV.

49. Doc. VII. Cf. Docs. XII (14), XIII (19v), and an *avviso* of July 17, 1596 (J. A. F. Orbaan, *Documenti sul barocco in Roma*, Rome, 1920, p. 107, note 1).

Boni, *op.cit.* (note 11 above), p. 17, thought that the whole church had been rebuilt by Maderno, and based his case in part on the Montalto arms which are now found between the modillions of the cornice. These must be stucco additions since Doc. V speaks of ". . . le rose di stuccho" which decorated the original cornice; obviously these were replaced under Maderno in order to make the earlier nave uniform with his completion.

50. Lists of donations by Cardinal Gesualdo are found in ASR, *Corp. relig.*, 2161, no. 159, 19, and in *ibid.*, 2147, no. 125. The former can be abstracted as follows:

Somma e compendio cavato dal libro della fabrica della nostra Chiesa di S.^{to} Andrea in piazza di Siena dal principio di essa di ordine et a spesa della F. M. del . . . Cardinale Gesualdo per quanto ha lasciato scritto il P. D. Jacomo Valdauro insino al anno 1591 adi 16 Marzo . . . e dopo lui il P. D. Andrea Nolfi il qual registro la seguente scrittura . . . A di 14 Aprile 1589, 1000 *scudi*; 22 Aprile, 1000 *scudi*; 2 Genaro 1590, 1000 *scudi*; 19 Giugno, 1050 *scudi*; 6 Settembre, 200 *scudi* (per calce); 3 Febraro 1591, 1000 *scudi*; 4 Genaro 1592, 830 *scudi*; 7 Genaro, 170 *scudi*; 22 Genaro, 400 *scudi*; 2 Luglio, 1200 *scudi*; 16 Luglio, 1500 *scudi*; 14 Ottobre, 3000 *scudi*; 10 Novembre, 1000 *scudi*; 14 Genaro 1593, 200 *scudi*; 27 Luglio, 7246.90 *scudi*; 18 Novembre 1594, 4796 *scudi*; 4 Novembre 1595, 500 *scudi*; 21 Maggio 1596, 1000 *scudi*; 10 Dicembre 1605, 7000 *scudi*; 10 Novembre 1608, 4000 *scudi*; total, 38,592.90 *scudi*.

The version in *Corp. relig.*, 2147 is roughly the same, save for the following differences: the April 14, 1589 payment is omitted; September 6, 1590 records 1000 *scudi*; the large July 1593 payment is explained by the notation that the sum is from a *Censo* of 6000 *scudi* d'oro on Gesualdo's "Casa . . . che haveva in Roma." The following payment of 4796 *scudi* is omitted; the only other payments recorded after that are:

18 November 1595, 500 *scudi*; 3 December 1598, 500 *scudi*; no date, 1000 *scudi*; no date, 500 *scudi*; total, 23,096.90 *scudi*.

The document goes on to say: "Di più soprad.^o partite di denari gli PP. di S. Andrea hanno spese gli infrascritti denari per ridurre la fabr.^{ca} di d.^a Chiesa al termine che si trova hoggi. . .". The list of payments following totals 17,567

though not vaulted, and the first mass was said in it.⁵¹ But from this year, when Gesualdo left Rome to take up his duties as Archbishop of Naples,⁵² events went from bad to worse. Almost no money was forthcoming after that date although the Theatines, confident in his sincerity and generosity, went ahead with some of the construction on borrowed money.⁵³ It was this that led to the inheritance dispute of 1603, which was settled two years later in favor of the Theatines.⁵⁴

Before Gesualdo left for Naples in 1596 he had appointed Pietro Paolo Olivieri as "architect" of the church. Olivieri was the *misuratore* of the document of August 17, 1595, and he was probably already the supervising architect in 1594 when construction above ground began.⁵⁵ This is the source of Baglione's attribution.⁵⁶ But Olivieri played no role in planning the church: the design, apart from the chapel enlargement, was already settled years before he appeared on the scene. His name is never mentioned by the documents in connection with the design, although Grimaldi, Della Porta, and even Francesco da Volterra are cited by name. Moreover, it is expressly stated by more than one witness that no changes were made in the approved design, apart from the chapel enlargement.⁵⁷ Olivieri was more properly a supervisor or caretaker architect.⁵⁸ He is reported to have been content with his small pay because he was eager to make a name for himself in architecture.⁵⁹ In fact his only architectural accomplishment is the great bronze tabernacle in the transept of S. Giovanni in Laterano, executed in 1598-1599 in the course of the general renovation of the transept.⁶⁰

By 1594 Grimaldi's real relationship with the church had terminated. Gesualdo's relations with Grimaldi seem never to have been warm, and on at least one occasion the Cardinal took pains to instruct the master masons that only *his* architect, Olivieri, was to be obeyed, not Grimaldi.⁶¹ This is perhaps the reason why Grimaldi absented himself from Rome more and more in the next few years, finally leaving permanently for Naples late in 1598.⁶² Olivieri's presence at the church thus

scudi, including 700 *scudi* to *muratori*, 200 *scudi* to *scarpellini*, etc. The payments of 1605 and 1608 in the first list were made from Gesualdo's estate in settlement of the inheritance dispute.

51. Boni, *op.cit.*, p. 14, October 31, 1596 "fuerunt cantata vespera sollempniter in ecclesia noviter constructa, et fuit concessa a SS.^{mo} Papa Clemente VIII indulgentia plenaria . . ." (quoted from the "Diary" cited in our note 14 above, fol. 2v).

52. His appointment dates from February 12, 1596 (see note 16 above). It was unexpected, as is shown in an *avviso* of February 14, 1596 (*Urb. lat.* 1064, 1, fols. 86f. Cf. fols. 52v, 69, and 132). While Sant'Andrea della Valle languished, Gesualdo was active in Naples: a new apse was built for San Gennaro; the Monte di Pietà was constructed; new parish churches in the suburbs were created, in part at Gesualdo's personal expense (see Ferdinando Ughello, *Italia sacra sive de episcopis italiae* . . ., VI, Venice, 1720, p. 167, CIII [54]; and Daniello Maria Zigarelli, *Biografie dei vescovi e arcivescovi della chiesa di Napoli*, Naples, 1861, pp. 148ff.). For the rebuilding of the apse, see Franco Strazzullo, "Le vicende dell' abside del Duomo di Napoli," *Studi in onore di Domenico Mallardo*, Naples, 1957, pp. 156ff., where it appears that Domenico Fontana was in charge of the work.

53. See Doc. VII for the Theatine version of this story; Doc. XII also refers to this.

54. Our Docs. VII-XIV pertain to this dispute.

55. Docs. VII and X do not make it clear that Olivieri was in charge before early 1596. Doc. XII leads us to believe that he was appointed when Grimaldi left for Naples, while Doc. XIV seems to imply an earlier activity for Olivieri. But Doc. XI, which is the testimony of the *Capomastro Muratore*, Matteo Canevale, states that Olivieri replaced Volterra "quale morse prima che si cominciasse la fabrica sopra terra . . ." and we have seen (note 40 above) that the foundations were chiefly built in 1591-1592, while the building above ground was begun in the fall of 1594 (Doc. VII).

56. Baglione's attributions often follow Lodovico Totti, *Ri-*

trato di Roma moderna, Rome, 1638, but in this instance Totti mentions only Maderno (p. 373); evidently he did not know the earlier architect's name. The tradition of authorship was already dim, and we can now understand why.

57. Docs. XI (5) and XIII (24), etc.

58. A Theatine recalled later that Olivieri took a place in the supervision which had not existed previously, since Padre Francesco Grimaldi had himself undertaken the supervision of the construction. But this does not account for Volterra, whom Olivieri seems to have replaced. In fact, among Della Porta, Volterra, and Olivieri, Gesualdo seems always to have had his own architect in distinction to that of the Theatines, but before Olivieri was hired he seems to have left the *execution* of the design in the hands of the Theatines. Thus a document of January 7, 1593, for masonry reports work done "d'accordio con il p^{re} don Giovanni" and something else was "saldati con . . . don Francesco" (ASR, *Corp. relig.*, 2119, document of September 23, 1592-January 7, 1593).

59. He earned 40 *scudi* per annum. Doc. XI reports that Olivieri "se ne contentava e faceva per acquistar credito per andar avanti. . ."

Olivieri seems to have been seriously interested in leaving sculpture for architecture in this period. A document of July 3, 1596 in ASR, *Archivio del Collegio de' Notari Capitolini*, Notary A. Camellus, 12, fol. 497, presents him as a *misuratore* evaluating a house on the Via Giulia. The document tells us that he was the son of an Antonio Olivieri of Rome and that at this time he was about 46 years of age.

60. Baglione, p. 76. Pastor, *op.cit.*, XI, pp. 653ff. The architect in charge was Giacomo della Porta.

61. Doc. XI (3); Doc. XIV (29f.).

62. Archive of Sant'Andrea della Valle, volume no. 110, *Erezione della Casa di S. Andrea*, 1586-, contains annual lists of those fathers and other associates of the monastery who were present in the month of May (day varies). From 1586 on Grimaldi is recorded, but he is not listed for 1594, 1596, or

represents a victory by Cardinal Gesualdo over the Theatines. We may surmise that having made a token acceptance of one of Grimaldi's plans and then having had it modified by his own trusted architects, the Cardinal felt that he had made an ample gesture of respect to the fathers. But Grimaldi's presence must have been irritating since he tried to change details of the design from what had been accepted.⁶³ Gesualdo needed someone whom he could trust to carry out the approved plans—someone on the spot to see that Grimaldi did not insinuate any of his ideas into the fabric as it rose. Obviously the aging dean of Roman architects, Giacomo della Porta, was not the man for such a job. Francesco da Volterra was tried and found wanting. In view of Olivieri's later association with Della Porta at the Lateran, we may at least postulate that Olivieri's role was as a front for the man who had first been Gesualdo's architect: Giacomo della Porta.

Gesualdo does not seem to have trusted even Olivieri completely. Before the Cardinal left for Naples in 1596, he appointed Cardinal Alessandro de' Medici as protector of the church.⁶⁴ This led to problems for Olivieri when it came time to vault the nave. Cardinal de' Medici wanted a smooth barrel vault like that of the Gesù. Olivieri wanted the ribbed barrel vault which was called for in the plans; ultimately his cause won. By the time of Olivieri's death in July of 1599 the nave must have been vaulted.⁶⁵

In 1599 Cardinal Gesualdo was back in Rome for the Jubilee of 1600.⁶⁶ At this time he felt his end approaching: he made his will,⁶⁷ and with the truncated nave little more than a shell, he decided to commemorate his effort and expense by building a grand façade decorated with his coat of arms and an inscription.⁶⁸ What was reported to be the winning design was published in a Rome Guide of 1600.⁶⁹ Another project, perhaps dating from this time but surely no later, has a contemporary inscription stating that it was a "dis. di Jacomo della Porta fatto per il Card. Gesualdo ma non fu messo in opera."⁷⁰ Neither of these was in fact the final project since one witness reports that Cardinal de' Medici changed the design from three portals to one, as it is today.⁷¹

The completion of the church vault and the design of a façade mark the end of the first phase of the construction of Sant'Andrea della Valle. Gesualdo went back to Naples, where he died on February 14, 1603.⁷² Work in the church had dragged to a stop a year or two earlier for lack of funds and the Theatines were badly in debt on Cardinal Gesualdo's account.⁷³ During the in-

1597. He was back in 1598, but then "D. Fran.^{co} Grimaldi discessit ab hac domo et ivit Neaplim die 23 octob. 1598" (fol. 17v).

63. See the documents cited in note 61 above, and Doc. XIII, fol. 23.

64. Doc. VII. Doc. XI (4) reports that Olivieri considered de' Medici's appointment a sign of Gesualdo's lack of faith. Alessandro de' Medici (1535-1605), a guiding spirit in the Oratory of St. Philip Neri, was active in the construction of Santa Maria in Vallicella; for that reason Gesualdo must have considered him competent to direct Sant'Andrea della Valle.

65. Docs. VIII and XII. Doc. XIII reports Medici's unhappiness over the turn of events.

ASR, *Corp. relig.*, 2110, no. 21, fol. 101v (November 10, 1605), reports the state of the church at the time construction stopped: "... fuerit ad statum et terminum, prout de presenti videri potest, quatuor videlicet Cappellarum quarum duae a dextera, et duae a sinistra partibus navis principalis Ecclesiae existunt cum testudine seu volta, quae cooperit totam partem dictae Ecclesiae, quantum protenditur dicta navis principalis, cum dictis quatuor cappellis, ultra Cappellam, in qua pro nunc situm reperitur Altare maius, et duas alias parvas Cappellas laterales, e regione portae maioris, quae tres Cappellae in vetere fabrica ad tempus accommodatae reperiuntur. . . ."

66. Doc. VII. Cf. Orbaan, *Documenti* . . . , pp. 249f., n. 1.

67. See note 78 below.

68. Doc. XIII (23v) reports at first hand on the façade design.

69. The print, which Doc. XIII says was published in a *Mirabilia Romae* of 1600, seems to be the one in Girolamo Francino-P. Parisio, *Le cose maravigliose dell'alma città di Roma* . . . , Rome, 1600, p. 141 (Ludwig Schudt, *Le guide di Roma*, Vienna-Augsburg, 1930, no. 94; he lists no guide of 1600 entitled *Mirabilia Romae*).

70. Nina Caflisch, *Carlo Maderno*, Munich, 1934, p. 49, fig. 25, and p. 50. First published in Wasmuth's *Architekturzeichnungen*, Berlin, 1922, plate 15, from the Beitscher collection in Berlin. The drawing is now in the Albertina, Vienna.

71. Doc. XIII (23). Flaminio Vacca, "Memorie di varie antichità . . . scritte . . . nell'anno 1594 (in F. Nardini, *Roma antica* . . . , 2nd ed., Rome, 1704), p. 12 (no. 60), says: "... nel fare li fondamenti vi trovarono un pezzo di Colonna di granito dell'Elba longo palmi quaranta, di grossezza circa sei palmi. . . . Della Colonna ne fecero pezzi, & uno di essi l'hanno posto per soglia della porta grande di detta Chiesa." Dr. Klaus Schwager kindly called this passage to my attention; it is not clear whether at this time there were three doors or only one.

72. An *avviso* of February 15, 1603 says: "Gesualdo è morto. Del testamento s'intende lassa 20 mila scudi per finir la chiesa di S.^{to} Andrea" (E. Rossi in *Roma*, XIII, 1935, pp. 229f.).

73. See Doc. VII. The last measurement in this period is dated March 8, 1601, for stone in the main cornice and other miscellaneous items, but in reality the work was done earlier (Doc v).

heritance dispute of 1603-1605 no work went on, although certain wealthy families, among them the Rucellai, the Barberini, and the Strozzi, took upon themselves the patronage of the existing chapels. After Gesualdo's death in 1603, five years passed before another prince of the church, Alessandro Peretti, Cardinal Montalto, rose to the challenge of the great beginning made by Gesualdo to complete the church. This work was done between 1608 and the mid-1620's; the architect in charge was Carlo Maderno.⁷⁴

Before Maderno had more than started he was attacked from Naples by Grimaldi and his supporters, who wanted to put the old five-dome scheme into execution.⁷⁵ The result was another examination of the history of the design and of the inheritance dispute of 1603-1605. Criticisms of Grimaldi's plan were drawn up, showing Maderno, or his supporters, as highly conservative. Maderno explicitly intended to complete Sant'Andrea on the example of the Gesù.⁷⁶ Grimaldi could not accept this and would not agree to a compromise such as he had been forced into when the first designs were under consideration. Even a visit by the new Theatine *soprastante*, Padre Marcello Pignatelli, could not placate the old architect, and so, as our informant states, lacking Grimaldi's agreement, Maderno's supporters went ahead without it.⁷⁷

III

We must now try to reconstruct the plan and character of Cardinal Gesualdo's church. This, as we have seen, was planned by Grimaldi and Della Porta, was partially executed by Grimaldi and Olivieri, and was left incomplete at Gesualdo's death in 1603 with a nave flanked by two chapels on each side. Since this much of the nave was vaulted we have sure information about the stylistic qualities of the nave, but the unexecuted part of the plan can be reconstructed only in the most general way. In his will Cardinal Gesualdo spoke of completing the church with a dome (*tribuna*) and apse, leading one to suppose that the church contemplated by Gesualdo must have been roughly similar to what was finally executed, although the will does not account for the third pair of chapels off the nave.⁷⁸ It is clear that Gesualdo's will was a defensive gesture. He had been remiss in his payments, the Theatines were in debt on his account, and the best he could do was to propose the cheapest possible completion of the grandiose building that he had begun. Gesualdo's assertion that he had contemplated a church costing 18,000 *scudi* comparable to San Girolamo degli Schiavoni is directly contradicted by Grimaldi's statements concerning his own designs, which were to cost over five times as much to execute.⁷⁹ Even if Gesualdo had been misled, as he apparently was by Francesco da Volterra, it seems clear that the relatively modest church described in the

74. It seems that only the inheritance dispute prevented Cardinal Montalto from resuming work on the church immediately after Gesualdo's death. An *avviso* of March 1, 1603 reports that "Il Cardinal Montalto s'intende habbia preso di voler finir la fabrica della chiesa di S.^{to} Andrea cominciata da esso Gesualdo, et se lo farà, la farà come si deve per che ci è da spendere, et à competenza del Iesu farà veder qualche bella cosa" (E. Rossi in *Roma*, XIII, 1935, p. 34).

Caflisch, *Maderno*, pp. 45ff., gives a brief history of the church as completed by Maderno. Montalto was again reported to have been thinking about continuing the fabric in April of 1606 (*avviso* in Orbaan, *Documenti*, p. 72). An *avviso* of April 30, 1608 announces Cardinal Montalto's final resolution to undertake the work (*ibid.*, pp. 107f.). Payments to Maderno began on May 14 of that year (ASR, *Corp. relig.*, 2161, no. 159). The first stone of the new construction was laid in July (Orbaan, *op.cit.*, p. 119—*avviso* of July 26, 1608). Thus Boni, *op.cit.*, p. 16, is wrong in asserting that Montalto and Maderno began work in 1601—as of course is his attribution of the entire building to Maderno.

75. See Docs. XV-XIX.

76. This is clear from the documents cited and from Gri-

maldi's rebuttal (Doc. XVIII), which states "che non si fa da Instan della chiesa del Gesù, ma si migliora. . ." The *avvisi* cited in notes 49 and 74 above show that the church was compared to the Gesù as a matter of course even before Maderno took over.

77. Antonio Quattrone, "P. D. Francesco Grimaldi C.R. architetto," *Regnum dei*, v, 17, 1949, p. 38, quoting from the contemporary annalist P.D. Francesco Bolvito (MS no. 524, Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples), reports that Grimaldi's design "parendo agli architetti non esser a proposito, il Card. Montalto vi fece su molte congregazioni dai primi uomini di Roma, mandò il P. Pignatelli a Napoli ad abbocarsi seco [col Grimaldi] e persuaderlo e, non potendo tirarlo al parere degli altri, si eseguì contro il suo."

78. Will of October 24, 1600, by the Notary Domenicus Bertonus Veletrius of the Roman Curia (Doc. VI). A less accurate copy, dated 1614, is found in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Fondo Boncompagni-Ludovisi, 273, no. 14. Although less accurate, it contains the entire text while the ASR version is only an excerpt.

79. Doc. VII.

will was not what had been originally planned. It was obvious to all that the design under construction was far larger than San Girolamo, built in 1588-1589 by Martino Longhi il Vecchio.⁸⁰ In the contract with the first mason of the church, which must date from 1590-1591, a vaulted nave, crossing, and choir is mentioned with a width of 70 *palmi romani* for the nave and choir.⁸¹ Since the present nave is 70 *palmi* (15.61 meters) wide, it is clear that it was not enlarged after construction began. The various testators in the dispute were asked if there had ever been another design, and they all replied "No." The decision of the court in favor of the Theatines in 1605 was an affirmation of the fact that Gesualdo had always planned a large church. As early as 1596 it was reported that the new church would be no less beautiful than the Gesù.⁸² In 1600 it was stated that if completed according to the design begun, the church would be second only to Saint Peter's,⁸³ and in 1603 Sant'Andrea was again compared favorably to the Gesù.⁸⁴ All of these descriptions are based on the part of the church begun by Cardinal Gesualdo on designs that go back to 1588-1589.

For the time being, the best we can do to visualize the church planned by Gesualdo and his architects is to suppose that it would have been analogous to what was finally built.⁸⁵ Since the building documents of the 1590's speak of joining the foundations of the church to those of the palace, we cannot tell how many chapels were planned from the beginning (cf. text fig. 1).⁸⁶ As we have already seen, the palace would have had to be largely destroyed in order to complete the church according to the original plans; it was the great length of the church which had originally determined the fate of San Sebastianello.

The plan of Sant'Andrea della Valle, as executed, is most easily comprehensible when compared with the Gesù (text figs. 2 and 3). Maderno completed Sant'Andrea in rivalry with the great Jesuit church,⁸⁷ and despite presumed differences between the original project and Maderno's completion, there can be no denying basic points of similarity in the two nave plans. The nave of Sant'Andrea is, however, articulated by a series of high chapel arches separated by an order of bundled Corinthian pilasters carrying a *ressaut* (Figs. 1 and 10).⁸⁸ The *ressauts* are continued above the entablature by transverse banding which unites the pilasters on either side of the nave. These ribs are inherent in the design and are implied by the bundled pilasters and *ressauts*. All of this differs decisively from the Gesù (Figs. 2 and 9), where the paired pilasters of the nave carry an unbroken entablature. The dominating, continuous entablature, relatively small chapel entrances, and the paired pilasters all contribute to give the Gesù nave a somewhat static effect;

80. G. Biasiotti and J. Butkovič, *S. Girolamo degli Schiavoni in Roma*, Rome, 1925. The final bill for S. Girolamo of March 1, 1590, for a total of 22,176.67 *scudi*, was based on *misure* by Prospero Rocchi and Domenico Fontana (Archivio Segreto Vaticano, A.A. Armadio B, 8, fols. 1ff.; signatures of Rocchi and Fontana, fol. 61f.; final statement by Longhi, fol. 62).

81. The *Capitoli* are in ASR, *Corp. relig.*, 2119 (unnumbered folder); item 21 states: "La volta della nave grande della croce, et choro [at this point "le quali saranno p. 70 di vane" is crossed out] il Maestro sara obligato armarle tutte a sue spese. . . ."

82. See note 49 above. The large-scale plans which were under way are already reflected in an *avviso* of November 1, 1595 (Pastor, *op.cit.*, XI, p. 680 n. 12).

83. Francino-Parisio, *Le cose maravigliose*, 1600, pp. 141f.

84. See note 74 above.

85. We have seen (note 32 above) that the temporary absence of space is not relevant in determining what was planned. Many other instances can be cited of a building begun according to a plan which demanded more space than was immediately available (cf. Pecchiai, *Il Gesù di Roma*, p. 59, and *passim*, for an analogous case). The documents do not show that the walls of the second chapel were meant to serve as buttressing for the crossing, and we know that a dome was

originally planned. Another chapel, or at least a large pier chapel similar to those at the corners of the present crossing, must have been projected.

86. See note 41 above. Although the Gesù and other churches had three pairs of chapels, other buildings of the type had more or less, and it is impossible to be dogmatic. But Della Porta used a three bay nave at the Madonna de' Monti, and if he revised the Sant'Andrea plans as extensively as I assume, three pairs of chapels are probable.

87. See Docs. XVI-XVIII.

88. The section of Sant'Andrea in Fig. 10 is not always accurate in detail but is invaluable since it shows the nave architecture before the early twentieth century additions, which included the incrustation of the vault with paintings and stuccoes, the stuccoes of the nave wall including the arch spandrels, the stuccoing and fluting of the pilasters and the gilding of the pilasters and capitals, the gilded inscription of the frieze, the pavement of the nave. Originally the nave was simple and white, and until this century it was the best preserved example of its period in Rome. Even now it conveys much more of its original spirit than does the Gesù. (For the twentieth century restorations and decorations, see A. Boni, *La chiesa di S. Andrea della Valle*, Rome, 1907 [special number of *L'illustrazione cattolica*], pp. 24ff.)



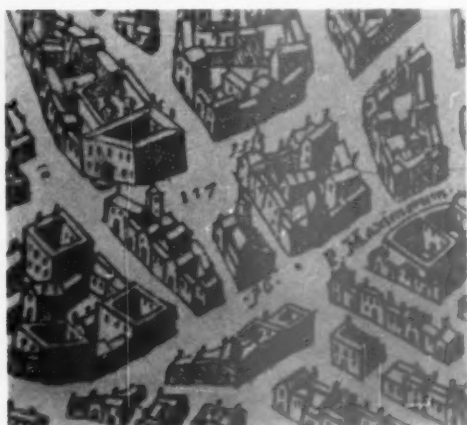
1. Sant'Andrea della Valle, Rome. Interior (photo: Alinari-Anderson)



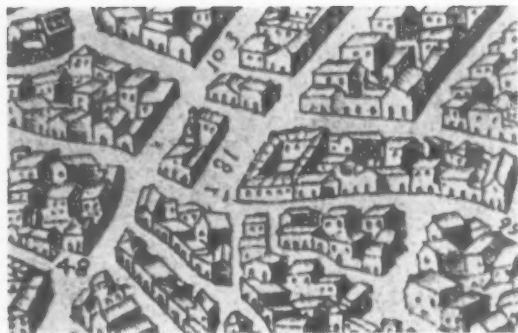
2. Il Gesù, Rome. Interior (photo: Alinari-Anderson)



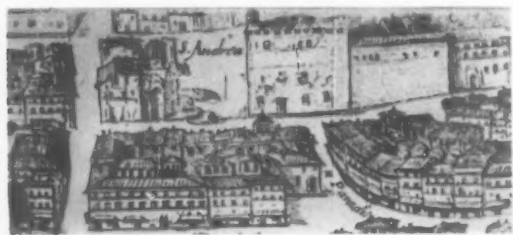
3. Bufalini Map of Rome, 1551, detail (From F. Ehrle, *Roma al tempo di Giulio III*, Rome, 1911)



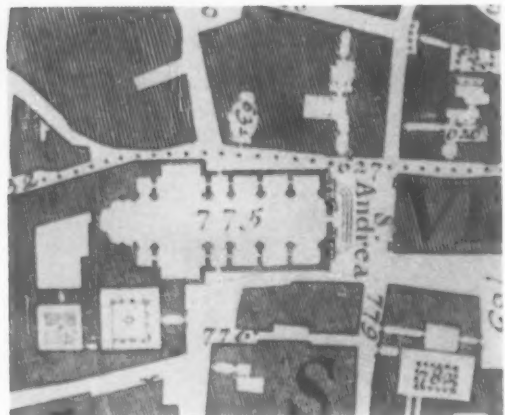
5. DuPérac-Lafréry Map of Rome, 1577, detail (From F. Ehrle, *Roma primo di Sixto V*, Rome, 1908)



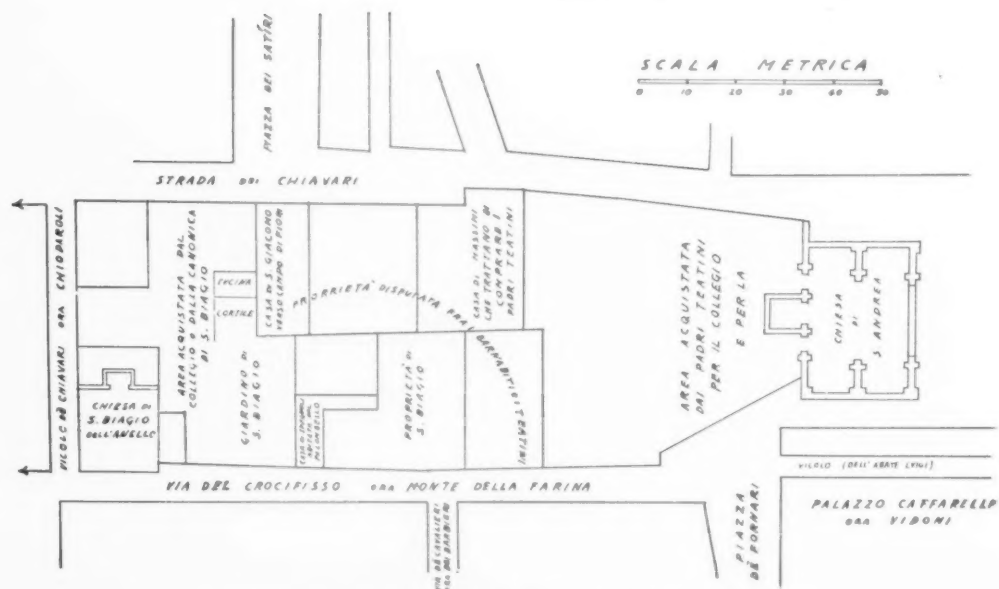
4. Cartaro Map of Rome, 1576, detail (From E. Rocchi, *Le piante iconografiche . . . di Roma*, Turin-Rome, 1902)



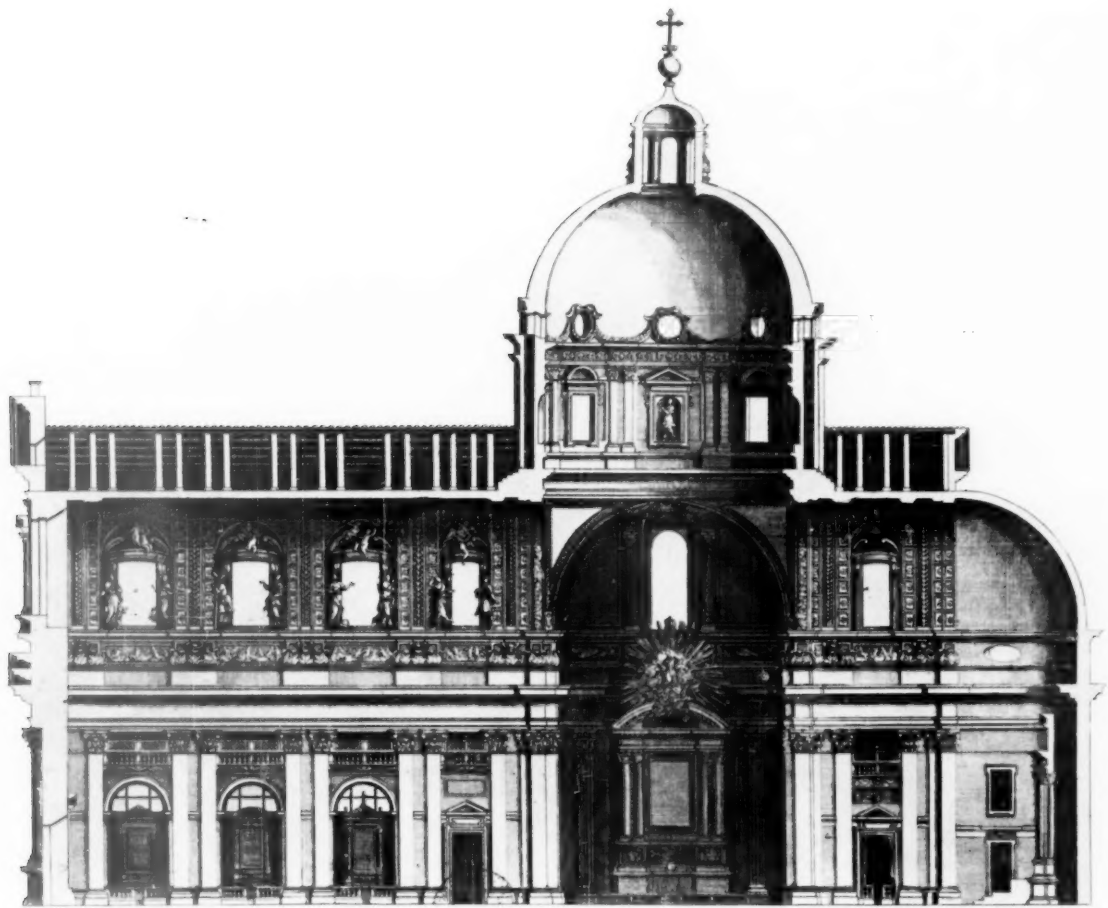
6. Tempesta Map of Rome, 1593, detail (From F. Ehrle, *Roma al tempo di Clemente VIII*, Vatican City, 1932)



7. Nolli Map of Rome, 1748, detail (From F. Ehrle, *Roma al tempo di Benedetto XIV*, Vatican City, 1932)



8. Sant'Andrea della Valle, plan of site, ca. 1600 (From M. Armellini, *Le chiese di Roma . . .*, ed. Cecchelli, 1, Rome, 1942, p. 543)



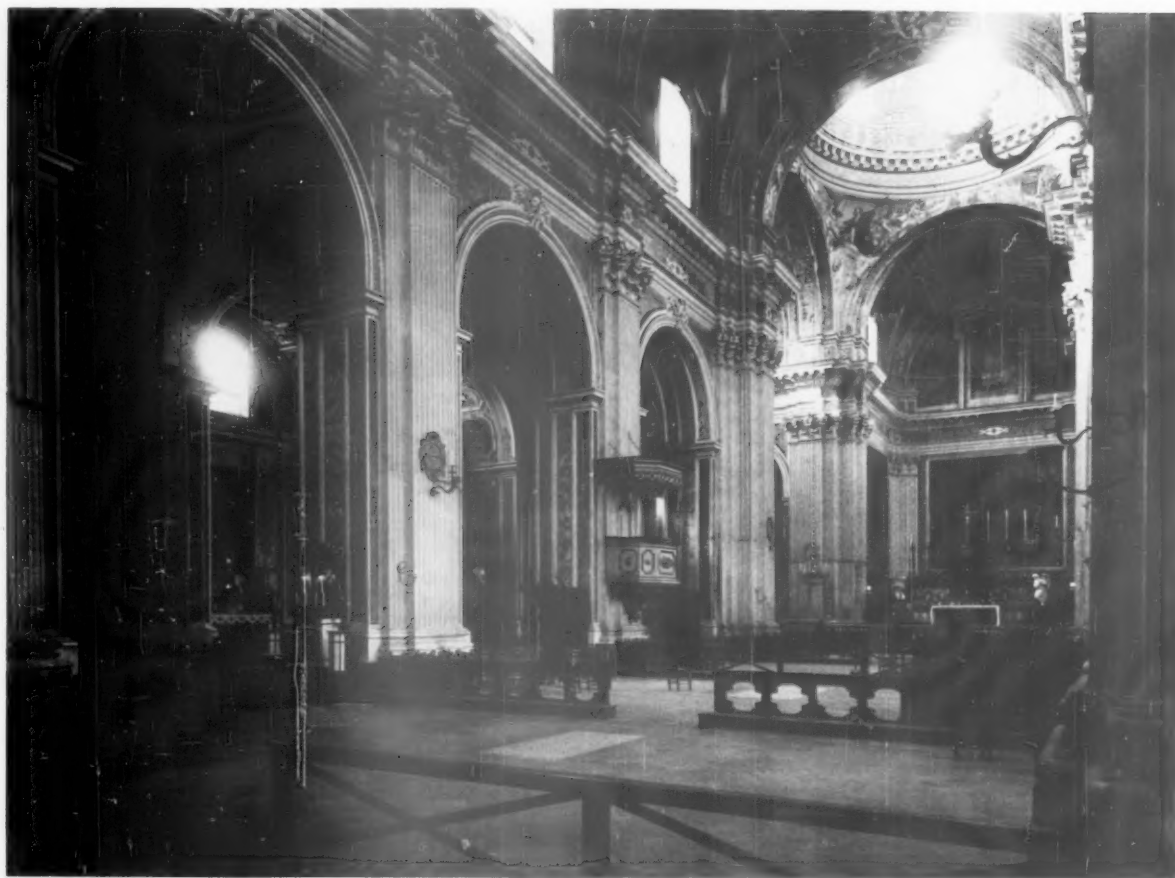
9. Il Gesù, Rome. Section (From G. G. de Rossi, *Insignium Romae templorum . . .*, Rome, 1684)



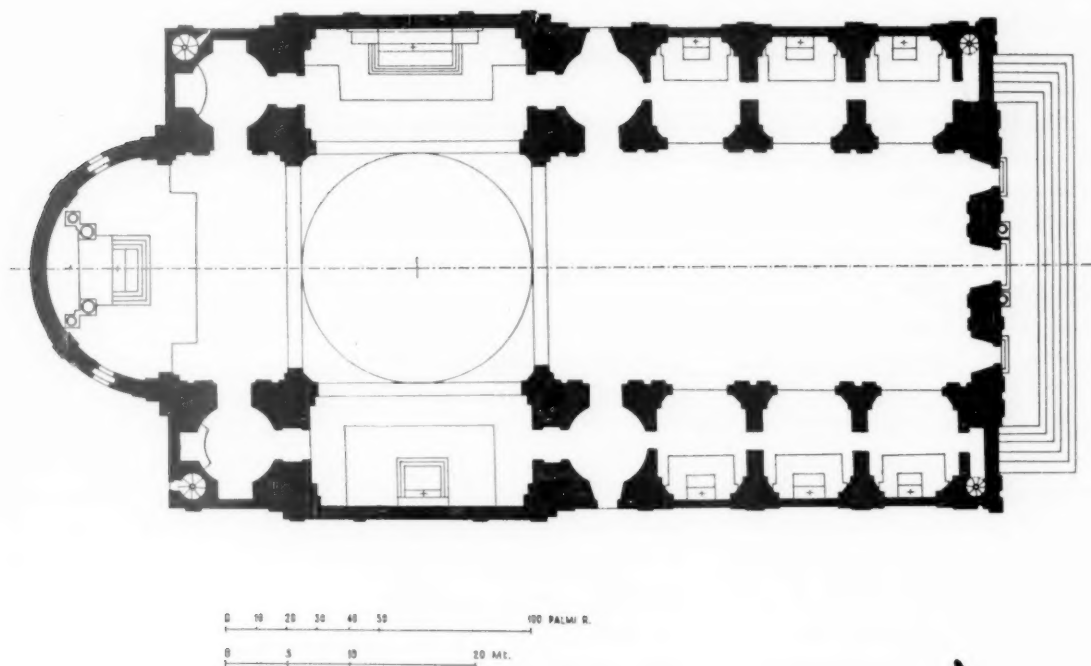
10. Sant'Andrea della Valle, Rome. Section (From G. G. de Rossi, *Insignium Romae templorum . . .*, Rome, 1684)



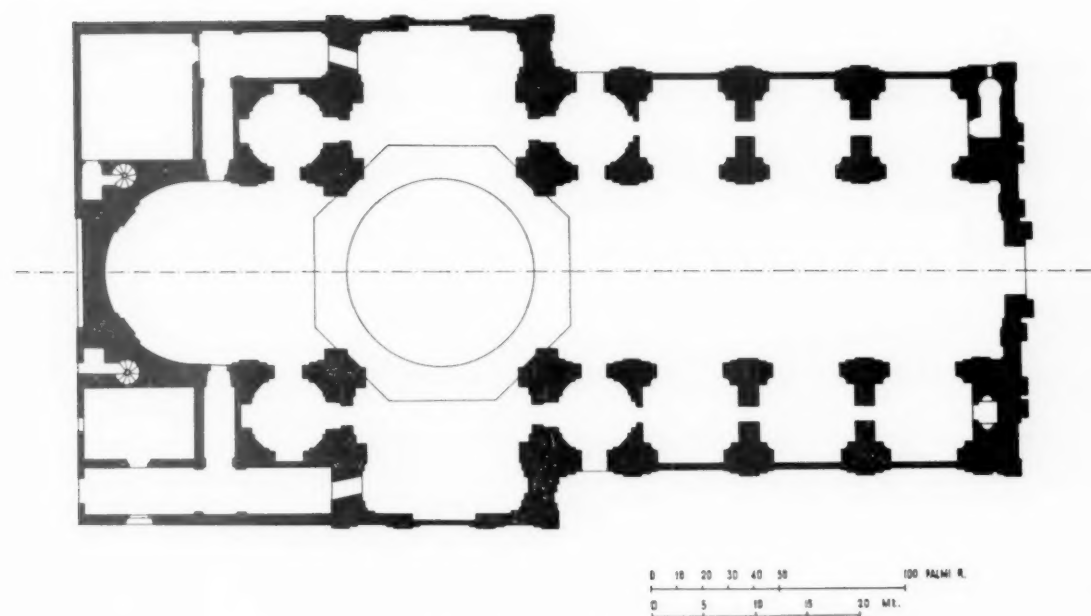
11. San Paolo Maggiore, Naples. Interior (photo: Alinari-Anderson)



12. Santa Maria degli Angeli a Pizzofalcone, Naples. Interior (photo: Soprintendenza ai Monumenti, Naples)



2. Il Gesù, Rome. Plan



3. Sant'Andrea della Valle, Rome. Plan

the sides of the nave impress the observer as articulated and pierced walls carrying a barrel vault. At Sant'Andrea the wall tends to disappear; in its place are bundled pilasters which can best be interpreted as part of a series of almost free-standing piers. This change leads to a spatial unity of nave and chapel and a structural unity of pier-pilaster and vault.⁸⁹

The changed articulation also created new, higher proportions at the Theatine church. The ratio of nave width to height in the Gesù is about 4:7; at Sant'Andrea it is roughly 4:9. Thus the height of the Gesù nave is considerably less than twice its width, while that of Sant'Andrea is rather more, and it is this difference of proportion which, at least subconsciously, immediately affects the visitor. Indeed, Sant'Andrea was generally considered a correction of the Gesù and an improvement over it. Well over half a century later, Bernini was greeted in France by the assertion that the Gesù nave was too low and that the Theatines had corrected the defect at Sant'Andrea—to which he patriotically replied that each had its own proportion.⁹⁰

One of the most noteworthy changes from the example of the Gesù took place in the design of the chapels in Sant'Andrea. These are wider than they are deep, while those of the earlier church have their long axes perpendicular to that of the nave.⁹¹ We have seen that the first design called for even shallower chapels and that their enlargement forced Gesualdo to acquire new property. Since the Sant'Andrea chapels are much wider than the Gesù chapels (text figs. 2 and 3), they would be tremendous if they were deeper than they are wide—nor does it appear that space was available even if such proportions had been desired. The contrast with the Gesù is immediately apparent to the visitor because of the unusually strong illumination that streams in from the chapels to the nave. Although the lanterns on the oval domes above the chapels at Sant'Andrea also let in light, the main illumination derives from the semi-circular "thermae" windows. These are larger than the comparable ones at the Gesù, conforming with the wider and higher arches leading from nave to chapel. The light streaming through the larger arches of the chapels gives a unity to the nave-chapel area which did not exist at the Gesù.

At this point we must try to separate the contributions of Della Porta and Grimaldi to this progressive, even epoch-making, design.⁹² We may grant from the outset that the possibility of ascertaining the precise work of each is impossible. Both men were, at least occasionally, powerful and original architects. Della Porta's career was at its apex when Sant'Andrea was begun—we must keep in mind that his execution of the Saint Peter's dome (Fig. 15) falls precisely in the years between the first plans of Sant'Andrea and the laying of the cornerstone, i.e., 1588-1590. Della Porta had begun his career at the Capitol, where he was in charge of executing Michelangelo's designs.⁹³ He was thus both *Architetto del Popolo Romano* and *Architetto di S. Pietro*, and all the popes from Gregory XIII (1572-1585) to Clement VIII (1592-1605) relied upon him as the leading architect of his time. Before Vignola's death Della Porta won the commission for the

89. For my interpretation of the Gesù nave I am indebted to Wolfgang Lotz, whose ideas are presented in compressed form in "Architecture in the Later 16th Century," *College Art Journal*, xvii, 1958, pp. 136ff. Sant'Andrea della Valle was already recognized as a significant step forward by Cornelius Gurlitt, *Geschichte des Barockstiles in Italien*, Stuttgart, 1887, pp. 197f. The basic modern discussion of the church is in A. E. Brinckmann, *Die Baukunst des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*, 1, Berlin-Neubabelsberg, 1915, pp. 5ff., 50ff., and *passim*. Cf. also Caflisch, *Maderno*, pp. 45f. Heinrich Wölfflin, *Renaissance und Barock*, 4th ed. (ed. H. Rose), Munich, 1926, pp. 120 and 122, adumbrates our analysis of some features. Alois Riegl, *Die Entstehung des Barockkunst in Rom*, Vienna, 1923, pp. 133f., speaks of "Das gleiche System wie am Gesù, mit Doppelpilastern (!) u.s.w., aber Fortschritt in S. Andrea della Valle: schlanker aufstrebend, keine Emporen dafür Verkröpfung des Architravs . . . S. Andrea ist weit ernster und erhabener als Gesù. . . ."

90. M. de Chantelou, *Journal du voyage du Cav. Bernin en France*, ed. L. Lalanne, Paris, 1885, p. 33.

91. The depth of the chapels in relation to the width of the nave is greater at Sant'Andrea—according to Caflisch, *Maderno*, p. 45, the nave-chapel ratio at the Gesù is 2.3 : 1.1 while at Sant'Andrea it is 2.6 : 1.7. In both instances the chapels are vaulted with oval domes—those of the Gesù having their axes perpendicular, those of Sant'Andrea having axes parallel to the nave. See note 113 below.

92. These are the only architects connected with the church whose contributions can even potentially be determined. Francesco da Volterra could have been connected with the chapel plans, but in no significant feature of the nave can anything of his style be found; see below, and notes 113, 125-126.

93. What Della Porta did and did not do in his execution of Michelangelo's plans is still not wholly clear; J. S. Ackerman, *The Architecture of Michelangelo*, London, 1961, II, pp. 56ff., has the best discussion.

Gesù façade away from the old master; afterward he finished the church and established himself as the first architect in the Papal States. His style can be determined with some precision from an examination of his works, and there should be no trouble in discovering what he might, or might not, have designed at Sant'Andrea. The same is not true of Padre Francesco Grimaldi, who has been relatively obscure until very recently. But now it is also possible to characterize Grimaldi's architectural style in the period before the Sant'Andrea design of 1588-1591, as well as after.

IV

Fabrizio Grimaldi, as he was baptized, was born in Oppido Lucano in 1543 and died in the Convento dei SS. Apostoli in Naples on August 1, 1613. It is typical of our knowledge of Grimaldi, and of Neapolitan architecture in general, that neither of these dates appears correctly in the architectural literature; indeed, they were discovered hardly more than a decade ago.⁹⁴ Grimaldi entered the Theatine Order on January 25, 1574, rather late for such a decision, and we may assume that he was already a trained architect or that he had had some experience in building. He himself, however, seems to have dated his architectural career from the early 1580's.⁹⁵

Grimaldi's first known work is a design of 1581-1583 for the rebuilding of San Paolo Maggiore in Naples, the Theatine church in that city since 1538.⁹⁶ It had been built on the site of an ancient temple, and much of the old fabric was incorporated in the church. In the early 1580's the apse threatened ruin and was rebuilt together with the crossing according to a new design by Grimaldi (Fig. 11). This was all that was executed under Grimaldi's supervision, but he made a new design for the rest of the church as well. In 1589, when Grimaldi was in Rome, the nave with side

94. Antonio Quattrone, "P.D. Francesco Grimaldi C.R. architetto," *Regnum dei*, v, 17, 1949, pp. 25-88 (henceforth: "Quattrone"). This work contains so much valuable information and incorporates such devoted research that it seems ungracious to have to point out that the architectural history contained in it does not always stand up before what seem to be the facts. Quattrone's research was confined to Theatine sources. For further information about the death date, see Franco Strazzullo, "Documenti per la storia della chiesa dei SS. Apostoli," *Archivio storico per le provincie napoletane*, xxxvi (Lxxv), 1957, pp. 258f.

The earliest summary of Grimaldi's career seems to be in the manuscript *Vite* by Camillo Tutini (ca. 1600-ca. 1667), who wrote: "Il P. don Francesco Grimaldi della città di Oppido, Teatino, architetto singolare, fe' il modello della Cappella del Tesoro dentro del Domo di Napoli; il disegno della chiesa e casa di S. Andrea della Valle de' Teatini in Roma, et il disegno della casa e chiesa di S. Maria degli angeli de' Teatini in Napoli." (Benedetto Croce, "Il manoscritto di Camillo Tutini sulla storia dell'arte napoletana," *Napoli nobilissima*, vii, 1898, p. 124. For Tutini, see Croce, "Scrittori della storia dell'arte napoletana anteriori al DeDominici," *loc. cit.*, pp. 18ff.) Cf. Bernardo de Dominici, *Vite de' pittori, scultori, et architetti napoletani*, II, 1743, pp. 251ff.

95. In the philippic which we print as Doc. xvii it is asserted that Grimaldi claimed twenty-four years of architectural study. Since Doc. xvii must be of 1608, Grimaldi's architectural career, by his own reckoning, began ca. 1584.

96. Luigi Correr, "Il tempio dei dioscuri a Napoli," *Atti della Reale Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti*, xxiii, 1905, Part 2, pp. 216ff., discusses San Paolo with reference to documents in the Archivio di Stato, Naples. Restoration began with the foundations in 1581; construction of the choir began in 1583. Cf. Quattrone, pp. 42ff. Salvatore Scotti, *La chiesa di S. Paolo Maggiore in Napoli*, Naples, 1922, adds nothing.

The old sources (note 94 above) do not mention this as a work by Grimaldi, nor was I able to find mention of his name in the archive (Archivio di Stato, Naples, *Monasteri soppressi*, *Teatini*, San Paolo Maggiore, vol. 1131). The documents,

partially quoted by Correr, report payments beginning on April 28, 1583. On that day (fol. 91) payment was made "... per levar il tetto, e il muro che stava sopra il Choro. . ." Fol. 92v records payment "Per il modello della Chiesa, e parte della fattura." This would have been Grimaldi's model according to the sources quoted by Quattrone. A *stuccatore*, Bernardo, was brought from Rome (fol. 108 and *passim*). In early 1584 the choir was probably built. The entries then skip to 1589, when work was underway on the nave. The architect in this period was Giovanni Battista Cavagna, who received payments from 1589 on (fols. 148ff.) in addition to his services as a painter, which are specified separately. On August 5, 1589, payment was made "Per cavar fuori 12 Colone che stauano poste in terra dietro la Chiesa." Cavagna was paid for the "disegno della Facciata della Chiesa" on September 3 of that year (fol. 148). Fol. 153 records payment "... per giornate 374. à diversi prezzi cominciando à lavorare le base, et grade delli pilastri della Chiesa; et facciata di pietre di Puzzuolo dalli 4 di 7bre 89 per tutti li 13 de Gennaro 1590. docati 119. 1. 7½." In January 1591 payment is recorded for stuccoing "... 12. capilli compositi della Chiesa. . ." (fol. 158v), while on fol. 159, 14 Corinthian capitals, 14 pilasters, 7 large chapel arches, and 6 small chapel arches are mentioned, proving that the present form of the nave dates from this period. Work seems to have been more or less finished late in 1592 on this portion of the church. (For Cavagna, see note 104 below.)

Quattrone, pp. 42ff., gives the following chronology: 1576, stair before church. 1581, new design for entire church by Grimaldi; apse and crossing rebuilt. 1588, nave rebuilt on Grimaldi's design by P. D. Pietro Caracciolo. 1603, consecrated. 1604, altar and ciborium. 1627, side aisles. 1687, earthquake destroys atrium; rebuilding. 1765, internal decoration finally finished.

Cesare D'Engenio Caracciolo, *Napoli sacra* . . . , Naples, 1624, p. 86, states: "E perche la Chiesa minacciava rovina, si anche perche non era capace al concorso, che la frequentava, fù però da Padri rinovata, & à meglio forma ridotta nel 1591, come di presente veggiamo. . ." This is the source of the assertion that the church was begun in 1590 or 1591, a mistake which is found in much of the modern literature.

chapels was rebuilt on this design by another Theatine, Padre Pietro Caracciolo. In 1603 the church was consecrated,⁹⁷ but only in 1627, long after Grimaldi's death, were the aisles built as they now stand; there is consequently no firm proof that they were designed by Grimaldi.

San Paolo Maggiore is Grimaldi's major effort before Sant'Andrea; although he was engaged in rebuilding a ruinous structure rather than designing a truly new church, we can nevertheless find much of his character in it. Before the polygonal apse is a long transept, divided at each end into two deep chapels, which derived its proportions from the Roman temple foundations on which the church is built. The crossing is not domed but covered with a roof that curves down toward the walls to make a pseudo-vault; the nave is covered the same way. We can perhaps infer from this that Grimaldi's technical ability at this stage of his career did not allow him to design vaults of large proportions.

The main order of the nave is developed by single pilasters that push up through the entablature in *ressauts* to support a smaller second order—a feature that is found in later churches by the architect. The nave is further articulated by a rhythmic series of alternating higher and lower arches that seem originally to have opened directly into chapels. The later aisles are vaulted by an alternate system of oval domes and groin vaults. The rhythmic alternation was carried into chapels, and the later aisles and chapels carry on this system. The fourth bay of the seven now opens out to a side entrance at the right and to a corresponding opening opposite, creating thereby a very mild transverse axis. Some ambiguity is created in the nave by the alternating system, which can be described most simply as an arcade faced with widely paired pilasters. The sense of the pair is diminished by the lower arch between, and by the *ressaut* above each pilaster. The effect is pictorial and loose but nevertheless impressive.⁹⁸

Grimaldi's next design is all but unknown. The research of Padre Antonio Quattrone has turned up the fact that the new Theatine foundation in Lecce began to make plans for a large church, Sant'Irene, ca. 1586.⁹⁹ Property was purchased in 1587, and the following year the design was entrusted to Grimaldi, who made drawings and a wooden model of the church. At this time he went briefly from Rome to Lecce to settle the project, but construction began only in 1591. The choir and crossing were finished by 1602, but the rest of the building dragged on until 1639. The execution, therefore, was not in Grimaldi's hands, and no local tradition ascribes the design to him. The attribution to Grimaldi seems secure, however, and is supported rather than undermined by the variety of local ascriptions, which name as the designer sometimes a Jesuit, Giovanni Rainaldi, sometimes a Michelangelo Coluzio, and sometimes others.¹⁰⁰ The church is one-aisled and has two orders of pilasters.

Grimaldi was clearly sent to Rome in 1585 to design a new church on the site of the Palazzo

97. G. B. del Tufo, who himself officiated, informs us that the church was consecrated in 1603, and continues: "Il cui nobilissimo edificio, quantunque fosse venti anni avanti cominciato da' fondamenti, cioè l'anno 1583, per temenza che s'havea, che la Tribuna del l'antica Chiesa non rouinasse, parendo ch'ella minacciasse rouina . . ." (*Historia*, pp. 42ff.).

The church was badly damaged in the last war and is now being rebuilt.

98. A second church of this period, Sant'Andrea delle Dame in Naples, has been attributed to Grimaldi (Quattrone, pp. 48ff.). It was built between 1585 and 1590, when Grimaldi was in Rome; if designed by him, it adds little to our knowledge of his style. It is a simple rectangular space with superposed Corinthian and Composite pilasters supporting a wooden roof. The church seems to have been structurally complete by 1587, and since it is a Theatine foundation, it is quite possible that Grimaldi was involved. The attached monastery was begun in 1584, when Grimaldi was still on the scene, and Quattrone attributed the beginning of the church to that year.

Antonio Colombo, "Sant'Andrea delle Dame, la chiesa," *Napoli nobilissima*, XIII, 1904, pp. 49ff., 87ff., 108ff., and 121f., gives a documented history. A design by Padre Valerio Pagano and Padre Innocenzo Parascandolo is mentioned; Colombo presumed that the real architects were Parascandolo and his brother Marco, who together directed the execution of the building. D'Engenio, *op.cit.*, p. 217, reports that on March 7, 1587 the nuns moved to their new "bella & magnifica Chiesa ornata di stuchi dorati. . . ."

99. All that follows is based on Quattrone, pp. 51ff.

100. D. Guglielmo Paladini, *Guida storica ed artistica della città di Lecce*, Lecce, 1952, pp. 372ff.; by Giovanni Rainaldi. *Puglia* (Touring Club Italiano), Milan, 1940, p. 282, says probably by Mich. Coluzio. Giuseppe Gigli, *Il tallone d'Italia*, I.—Lecce e dintorni, Bergamo, 1911, pp. 32f., says the architect was "Giuseppe Cino, leccese." He quotes a seventeenth century chronicle which says the church was begun on January 2, 1591, cornerstone February 4, 1591.

The façade is a copy of that of Sant'Andrea della Valle.

Piccolomini. We are informed that designs were already made before any real possibility of building arose, which points to plans of ca. 1586.¹⁰¹ When Cardinal Gesualdo rose to the occasion (ca. 1588), Grimaldi was ready with drawings, one of which, considerably modified and changed by Giacomo della Porta, was accepted in 1589 and, with the single exception of the chapel modification, was executed up to the present third pair of chapels. This part of the church is, consequently, "Grimaldi's" design and employs, as we have seen, a bundled Corinthian pilaster system which supports a *ressaut* and bands across the vault. The chapel openings are high and regular. It remains to be seen how much of this Grimaldi did in fact design, but it will be apparent that at least the *ressaut* is a characteristic feature of his earlier naves.

After his return to Naples, Grimaldi's next major commission was for Santa Maria degli Angeli a Pizzofalcone. A small church on the site was completely rebuilt on Grimaldi's designs beginning in 1600. He had returned to Naples permanently in 1598; the design of the church was probably developed in 1599 since the new structure was begun on April 23, 1600.¹⁰² The church is one of the most impressive in Naples and can be considered a version of Sant'Andrea della Valle (Fig. 12). Bundled Corinthian pilasters with *ressauts* support the vault. The crossing is graced by a dome, and the building ends in a rectangular apse which is barrel-vaulted like the nave. Unlike Sant'Andrea, there are side aisles lighted by round domes which open into shallow barrel-vaulted chapels.¹⁰³ Thus the impression of isolated piers noted at Sant'Andrea is here expanded by the construction of actual piers allowing a relatively free flow of space from nave to aisles to shallow chapels. Santa Maria degli Angeli represents a break with Grimaldi's earlier churches and develops certain aspects of the scheme of Sant'Andrea della Valle. Some of the features, such as the use of domes, seem to be characteristically his. But the suspicion arises that the church is in large part a result of his Roman experience—which is to say that he took away from Rome more than he brought.¹⁰⁴ Santa Maria degli Angeli was inaugurated in 1610. Apart from the decoration and the façade, which are later, this is the one church entirely designed and executed by him; in many respects it is his masterpiece.

In 1608 Grimaldi began the large domical structure attached to San Gennaro, the Cappella

101. Doc. IX. Marco Parascandolo (see note 98 above) was *Padre Preposito* of Sant'Andrea in 1587, a key year in the planning of the new church, or at least in the organization of the campaign for a patron. Parascandolo's presence seems to reinforce the presence of Grimaldi as evidence of a concerted effort from Naples to establish a major Theatine center in Rome. Parascandolo returned to Naples by 1588 ("Diary" cited in note 62 above, fols. 5f.).

Grimaldi's favorite plan with five domes seems to have been modeled on Saint Peter's; cf. Doc. XIII (21v), where Gesualdo is quoted as saying "il d.^o P. Franc.^o mi voleva far fare un altro S. Pietro." Grimaldi was doubtless strongly influenced not only by Saint Peter's but by Valeriano's Gesù Nuovo in Naples, which was under construction during the 1580's and 1590's; when Grimaldi began his own San Paolo Maggiore, the Gesù Nuovo would have been the most ambitious and modern church then under construction in Naples; Grimaldi doubtlessly studied it carefully. For this class of churches, influenced by Saint Peter's, see Rudolf Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Italy, 1600-1750*, Harmondsworth, 1958, pp. 74f. For Valeriano, see Michele Enrichetti, "L'Architetto Giuseppe Valeriano (1542-1596) progettista del Collegio Napoletano del Gesù Vecchio," *Archivio storico per le provincie napoletane*, XXXIX (LXXVIII), 1960, pp. 325-352: project for Gesù Nuovo 1582-1584, cornerstone December 15, 1584 (p. 332ff.).

102. The cornerstone of April 23, 1600 was consecrated by del Tufo (*Historia*, p. 235). Quattrone, pp. 57ff., gives the following chronology: 1587, donation of property to the Theatines for a new church; 1595, P. D. Pietro Caracciolo (see note 96 above) becomes *Preposito*; 1600, church begun on

Grimaldi's designs; 1610, church inaugurated; decorations later; 1684-1685, façade (architect unknown).

103. This arrangement makes one suspect that the present solution in San Paolo Maggiore was originally planned by Grimaldi.

104. There is also a Neapolitan tradition of aisleless churches which must be mentioned at this point. The Cinquecento church of Santa Caterina a Formiello, for example, has much the same general proportions and plan as Sant'Andrea in Rome; the nave of Santa Maria degli Angeli and the aisleless church of SS. Apostoli seem to follow naturally in this tradition. But Santa Caterina has an unbroken entablature; Grimaldi's churches almost invariably break the horizontal movement with *ressauts*. The *ressaut*, more than the bundled pilaster, seems to have been immediately popular and can be followed in G. G. Conforto's San Ferdinando (Roberto Pane, *Architettura dell'età barocca in Napoli*, Naples, 1939, p. 96) and in later architecture.

Perhaps an important influence on Grimaldi, and even on Sant'Andrea della Valle, is the Neapolitan church of San Gregorio Armeno by G. B. Cavagna and Vincenzo della Monica, which is dated 1572-1577 in the literature (Luigi Serra, "Note sullo svolgimento dell'architettura barocca a Napoli," *Napoli nobilissima*, N.S., II, 1921, p. 88; illustration, p. 89). The church has a nave articulated by a pilaster bundle and *ressaut*, but I have been unable to determine whether this dates from the time given above: Serra speaks of important restorations in the eighteenth century. The flat roof limits the vertical significance of the *ressaut*. (Cavagna was later active at San Paolo Maggiore; see note 96 above.)

del Tesoro, which is almost a church in its own right.¹⁰⁵ It was finished soon after his death in 1613, but the dome was never structurally sound; problems arose immediately which were finally solved only in 1725. The building is a Greek cross with a dome on pendentives and should be compared with Saint Peter's and with such large chapels in Rome as the Cappella Sistina in Santa Maria Maggiore, which he would have seen under construction. Once again Grimaldi seems to have drawn on his Roman experience.¹⁰⁶

There seems to be no doubt that Grimaldi designed Santa Maria della Sapienza, which was executed wholly after his death between 1614 and 1641.¹⁰⁷ It employs a version of the rhythmic system encountered first at San Paolo Maggiore, but without a *ressaut*. It has no aisles or transept, but incorporates the vault and dome which San Paolo so obviously lacks.

Grimaldi's last executed design, for SS. Apostoli, was already planned ca. 1610.¹⁰⁸ He may have had some earlier connection with the construction of the monastery, which was begun in 1590.¹⁰⁹ We are told that he made two projects for the church. One, employing the rhythmic system which was used at Santa Maria della Sapienza, was not accepted, and this may be the source of the latter design. The one that was executed is still another version of the Sant'Andrea della Valle-Santa Maria degli Angeli scheme (Fig. 14).¹¹⁰ The cornerstone of the new church was laid only in 1626, long after Grimaldi's death.¹¹¹ Work continued for many years, progressing from west to east. The nave alone, without the crossing, was finished by 1632; the church was consecrated in 1659. In the succeeding decades the dome and lantern were built.

From this brief résumé of Grimaldi's activity certain characteristics stand out: he was an architect with a feeling for powerful, rhythmic movement, who began in a distinctly unclassical or at least uninhibited style. His rather undisciplined but imaginative talent was somewhat refined by his long stay in Rome, but as we have seen, even in 1608 he clung to the dream of building the five-domed crossing at Sant'Andrea which had been rejected out of hand in the 1580's. It would seem that Grimaldi never had the opportunity, either in Rome or in Naples, to build as magnificently as he dreamed. Domes play an important part in his designs. If we put together his love for arcades with alternating openings, for superposed orders, for domes, and for mounting climaxes at the crossing, we see that his sense for drama and magnificence was better developed than contemporary Roman *decoro* allowed, and it was on the grounds of *decoro* that Maderno's

105. P. Antonio Bellucci, *Memorie storiche ed artistiche del Tesoro nella Cattedrale* . . . , Naples, 1915, pp. 33ff., gives a well-documented history with emphasis on the decoration. On January 26, 1608, the decision was made to entrust the design to Grimaldi, and the general of the Theatines was written for permission to employ him. On May 26, 1609, a payment of 30 *scudi* is recorded for a wood model of Grimaldi's design. The construction was essentially finished a few years after Grimaldi's death in 1613. Cf. Quattrone, pp. 83ff., and note 94 above.

106. Quattrone, pp. 70ff., attributes the church of SS. Trinità delle Monache to Grimaldi and dates its beginning ca. 1609. Alfonso Fiordalisi, "La Trinità delle Monache, II.—la chiesa," *Napoli nobilissima*, VIII, 1899, pp. 181ff., shows that the church was built between 1621 and 1630. He accepted the attribution to Grimaldi since he was unaware that the architect had been eight years dead when the church was begun; no evidence of a design by Grimaldi has been adduced. The church was a Greek cross in plan, similar to the Cappella del Tesoro. It was destroyed in 1897.

107. Antonio Colombo, "Il monastero e la chiesa di Santa Maria della Sapienza, IV.—la chiesa," *Napoli nobilissima*, XI, 1902, pp. 59ff. and 67ff. Houses were purchased on July 19, 1614, because "conforme al disegno della fabbrica," there was no "loco più atto de fare la nova ecclesia." After work which stretched through the 1620's and 1630's, the church was finally

opened and blessed in 1641. The design by Grimaldi may go back to ca. 1610: see below. The church was badly damaged in the last war.

108. Franco Strazzullo, "Documenti per la storia della chiesa dei SS. Apostoli," *Archivio storico per le provincie napoletane*, XXXVI (LXXV), 1957, pp. 255-272, gives a documented history which goes beyond Quattrone, pp. 74ff. On p. 259 Strazzullo informs us that "I lavori, avviati tra il 1610-11, furono sospesi per ordine dei superiori maggiori." The project was re-approved on July 7, 1626, and it is consequently sure that the church was built after Grimaldi's designs, even though the director of works, G. G. Conforto, made more drawings and probably changed details (p. 260).

109. Quattrone, pp. 72ff., shows the monastery to have been begun in 1590 when Grimaldi was in Rome.

110. *Ibid.*, pp. 74ff. But it must be pointed out that while the bundled pilaster-ressaut of Sant'Andrea della Valle and Santa Maria degli Angeli are similar, at SS. Apostoli only the central pilaster supports a *ressaut*, changing the meaning of the form (see notes 115 and 122 below).

111. *Ibid.* But D'Engenio, *op.cit.*, writing in 1624, spoke of a magnificent church on which the Theatines had spent thousands of ducats: "gli edificij, e fabbriche sono riuscite le più nobili, e belle, che sono nella Città di Napoli" (p. 166). Perhaps this comment was meant to apply chiefly to the monastery since the church was rebuilt two years later.

followers attacked him in 1608.¹¹² Grimaldi seemed to show no knowledge or respect for authority or tradition; to a Roman this made him a barbarian. On the other hand, some of the sweep and grandeur of Sant'Andrea may derive from his design. It would be fruitless to look for similarity in detail: even the oval domes over the chapels at Sant'Andrea seem to be the result of the ground plan of the spaces rather than the product of an *a priori* desire for ovals.¹¹³ The vertical tendency of the Sant'Andrea nave, with its *ressaut* and its bands across the vault, is fairly consistent with his earlier architecture even when we allow for the comparative irregularity and barbarism of his earlier designs: here the crudities and mannerisms have been washed away in the purifying stream of Roman tradition. But before trying to define Grimaldi's contribution we must examine the style of Giacomo della Porta, and in particular his works of the 1580's.

V

Giacomo della Porta can best be understood in his relationship to Michelangelo. This is a complex and still tangled web of uncertainties, but however much he may have departed from Michelangelo's models at the Capitol and at Saint Peter's, and he did make notable changes, Della Porta was the chief follower of Michelangelo in the later sixteenth century. On his own, Della Porta rarely exhibits the grandiose power and magnificence of Michelangelo's *disegno*. In the Madonna de' Monti, begun in 1580, the only longitudinal church executed entirely under his supervision, Della Porta followed the Gesù city church scheme of aisleless nave and unprojecting transept (text fig. 5).¹¹⁴ But at the same time he reduced the paired pilasters of the Gesù to one and pushed a *ressaut* above it through the architrave and frieze while leaving the cornice intact (text fig. 4; Fig. 13). This variation on Vignola's Gesù scheme is significant since it heralds a nascent verticalism and adumbrates the powerful pilaster bundle of the Sant'Andrea nave.¹¹⁵ If the variation seems less progressive than certain similar features found in Grimaldi's San Paolo, where the *ressaut* continues through the cornice, it must be pointed out that Della Porta was working within a more rigid formula in a far more inhibiting atmosphere. The example of the Gesù was so powerful that any variation on it in Rome at once attracted attention. Vignola's use of the orders and his unbroken entablature rounded out a development of many decades by returning to High Renaissance precedent. An architect who followed the Gesù in plan, but who changed the relationship of pilaster, entablature, and vault, was embarking on a course that must inevitably destroy Vignola's basic precepts. Thus Della Porta's divergence from the Gesù in the Madonna de' Monti assumes an importance greater than one's first impression of the little church might indicate. The direction of his thought becomes clearer when we realize that bundled pilasters,

112. See Does, XVI-XIX.

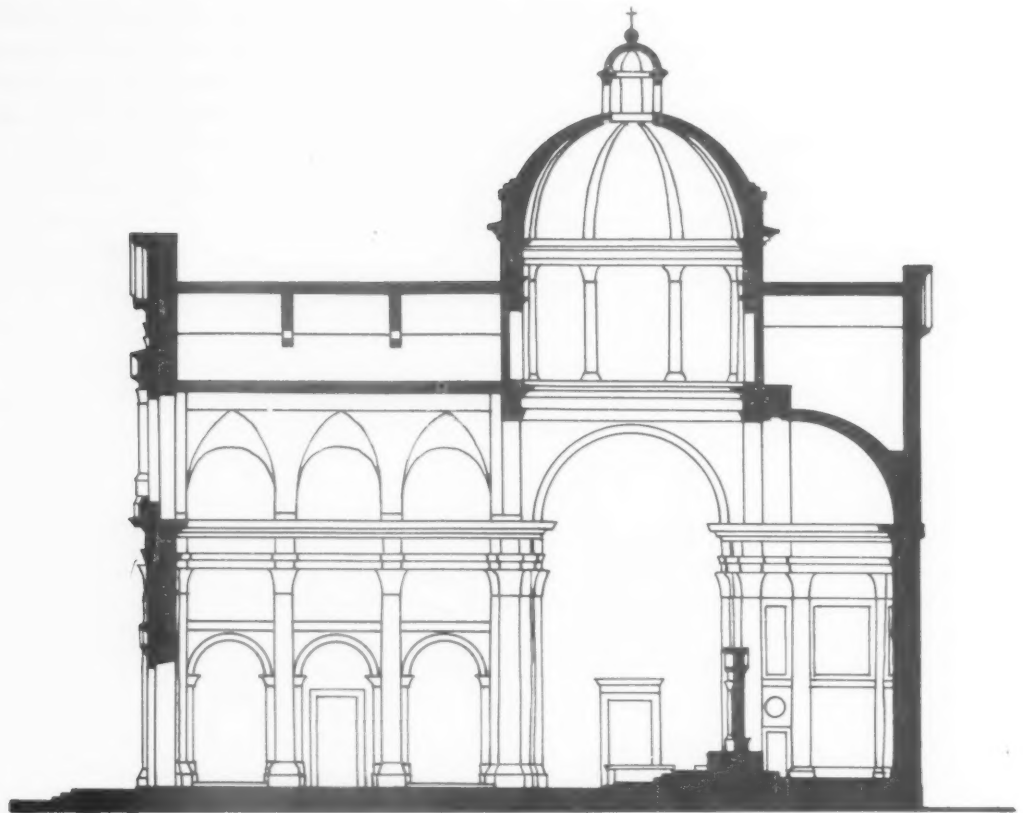
113. Francesco da Volterra, who was apparently Cardinal Gesualdo's architect when the chapel plans were changed, was the most noted exponent of the oval plan then active in Rome (see Wolfgang Lotz, "Die ovalen Kirchenräume des Cinquecento," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, VII, 1955, pp. 58ff.). Thus even Volterra could have been responsible for designing oval domes for the chapels. (For a rare use of the oval by Della Porta, see my remarks in the ART BULLETIN, XL, 1958, p. 358.)

114. For the story of the construction see Pastor, *op.cit.*, IX, p. 807. Della Porta's authorship is attested by Baglione, p. 80. My colleague Milton Lewine is undertaking a monographic study of the church; I am indebted to him for many fruitful observations. Cf. his Ph.D. thesis, *The Roman Church Interior, 1527-1580*, 1960 (unpublished; on deposit in the library of Columbia University, New York, N. Y.).

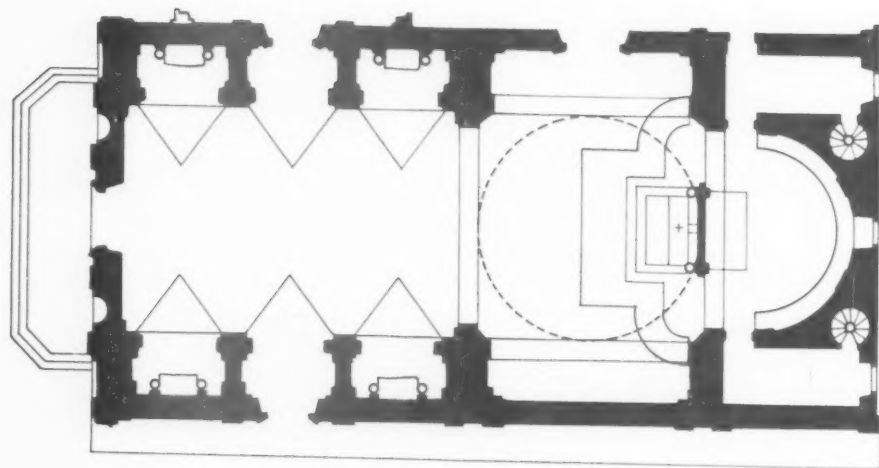
Contemporary with the Madonna de' Monti, Della Porta executed the nave and aisles of San Giovanni de' Fiorentini (work began in 1583; see A. Nava, "La storia della chiesa

di S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini nei documenti del suo archivio," *Archivio della R. Deputazione Romana di Storia Patria*, XIX, 1936, pp. 336ff.; also Herbert Siebenhüner, "S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini in Rom [1518-1534, und 1582-1614]," *Kunstgeschichtliche Studien für Hans Kauffmann*, Berlin, 1956, pp. 172-191). But in this church Della Porta did not have a free hand. He was held to the older Sangallo-Sansovino plan, and for this reason few or none of the progressive characteristics of his style are to be seen. The transverse axis of the Madonna de' Monti makes a re-appearance, however. Della Porta also designed two centralizing churches in this period: Sant'Atanasio dei Greci and Santa Maria Scala Coeli alle Tre Fontane.

115. This partial *ressaut* is found in Michelangelo's Cappella Sforza in Santa Maria Maggiore, which was probably completed by Della Porta (illustrated in A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, XI, 2, Milan, 1939, figs. 194-195). The vertically unifying tendencies found in this chapel seem to have been very influential during the Baroque period; Della Porta is apparently the first architect who understood Michelangelo's new style.



4. Madonna de' Monti, Rome. Section



0 1 2 3 4 5 12 ME.

0 10 20 30 40 PALMI

5. Madonna de' Monti, Rome. Plan

which derive from Michelangelo, appear in Della Porta's secular works, such as the courtyard of the Palazzo Maffei-Marescotti¹¹⁶ and the rear loggia of the Palazzo Farnese (1588-1589).¹¹⁷

In his execution of Michelangelo's dome model Della Porta increased the height of the profile, changing the relatively hemispheric form projected by his master to a more vertical, pointed design whose upward movement is expressed by a rib system (Fig. 15).¹¹⁸ This is essentially the same idea, expressed at the same time, as the dynamic pier-pilaster rib system found at Sant'Andrea della Valle. The modifications of Michelangelo's dome for Saint Peter's are analogous to the departures from Vignola's Gesù made at Sant'Andrea: horizontals are broken, layering is challenged by verticalism.

Something of the same vertical tendency which appears in the works already mentioned can even be found in Della Porta's later palace façades, such as that of the Palazzo Crescenzi-Serlupi (Fig. 14).¹¹⁹ In such façades of the 1580's and early 1590's he tried to break down the monotonous horizontal dominance of the separate floors by grouping or concentrating the openings. By creating a system of unequal bays running the height of the façade, Della Porta forced the eye to read the individual windows and groups of windows up and down as well as across the wall plane. The suppression of horizontal layering is paralleled in the Madonna de' Monti and at Sant'Andrea; in both, the mezzanine band between nave entablature and clerestory windows found at the Gesù has been eliminated (Figs. 9-10 and text fig. 4). This shows still another aspect of his tendency toward simplification and verticality.¹²⁰ The absence of horizontal continuity in Della Porta's little domes for Saint Peter's has already been remarked by Coolidge.¹²¹ It can now be seen as a characteristic of his style.

This outline of Della Porta's style in the 1580's should make it clear that he can be seen as the Roman architect who inherited and tried to reconcile the traditions of Michelangelo and of Vignola. In his continuation of the Gesù he probably had no opportunity to introduce significant changes into Vignola's interior. But while he was building the Madonna de' Monti, which combined homage to Vignola with criticism of his style, he also designed churches such as Sant'Atanasio dei Greci and Santa Maria Scala Coeli alle Tre Fontane which are in many ways profoundly Vignolesque. Nevertheless, the Madonna de' Monti is the work of a progressive architect dissatisfied with the relatively static space of the Gesù nave. In the later church a transverse axis through what should be the center pair of chapels (no longer evident in its original form) sets up an obvious, though unequal, conflict of direction (text fig. 5). The single pilasters pushing up through architrave and frieze start a vertical thrust that is only partially thwarted by the un-

116. Della Porta's palaces deserve further study. The only works we now have are Körte's unusually full article in Thieme-Becker, and Wart Arslan, "Forme architettoniche civili di Giacomo della Porta," *Bollettino d'arte*, VI, 1927, pp. 508-527. For the Palazzo Maffei-Marescotti, see further the *avvisi* printed by Rossi in *Roma*, VI, 1929, p. 372 and VIII, 1930, p. 38; and Pietro Tomei, "Contributi d'archivio: un elenco dei palazzi di Roma del tempo di Clemente VIII," *Palladio*, III, 1939, p. 174, no. 41, where he dates it ca. 1580. There can be no doubt that the upper, bundled pilaster story of the Marescotti court breaks stylistically with the lower stories. If it is really by Della Porta, it should be compared with the rear loggia of the Palazzo Farnese (see note 117 below).

117. Inscribed 1589. It is obvious that the Farnese loggia pilaster bundle and *ressaut* derive from Michelangelo's third story court façade (in Venturi, *op.cit.*, figs. 95 and 100). Cf. Werner Körte, "Zur Peterskuppel des Michelangelo," *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, LIII, 1932, p. 110 and *passim*. Other sources for Della Porta's verticalism can be found in the treatment of the pilaster-*ressaut* within Michelangelo's Saint Peter's.

118. Jacobo Grimaldi, who was in the service of the

Chapter of Saint Peter's at the time, stated that Della Porta considerably changed the profile of the dome from Michelangelo's model. This view is accepted by an overwhelming number of modern scholars; see the summary in J. Ackerman, *The Architecture of Michelangelo*, I, pp. 97ff., and especially II, pp. 105ff.

119. Dated 1585 by Körte in Thieme-Becker; he dates the Maffei-Marescotti palace slightly later (cf. note 116 above). According to Rodolfo Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi* . . . , III, Rome, 1907, p. 124, foundations were being dug in 1592, but this might have been for a continuation of something already begun. The palace is clearly shown from the side in the 1593 Tempesta map; four bays are shown on the side toward the Pantheon, and more on the other side of the court. An inscription of 1585 is recorded in Arslan, *op.cit.*, p. 528 n. 9.

120. Perhaps an analogous desire for clarification caused the migration of the mezzanine story above the piano nobile to the attic in his palaces of this period (cf. Fig. 14). This tendency seems to have coincided with Della Porta's experiments in contracting the window spaces toward the center of the façade.

121. *Op.cit.*, p. 85, and p. 110, note 126.

broken profile of the cornice. This, and other inconsistencies, may point to irresolution or timidity on Della Porta's part, but the direction of his thought in contrast to that of Vignola is clear enough. This dynamic tendency continues under the mounting influence of Michelangelo throughout the 1580's; the aspiring verticalism of the Saint Peter's dome is the culmination of the development. The higher proportions of Sant'Andrea as compared with the Gesù, and the *ressaut* that breaks the entablature completely above each pilaster bundle, can at least be contested by Della Porta in our attempt to distinguish the contributions of Grimaldi from those of the Roman architect. But the pilaster bundle itself is an eminently Michelangelesque form which Della Porta used in these years and which Grimaldi did not. Given this motif as Della Porta's substitution for Vignola's rhythmic paired pilaster (and for Grimaldi's picturesquely rhythmical alternating system), we are forced to admit that the pilaster bundle, as an architectural form in itself, implies a *ressaut* that, logically but powerfully, *must* push up through the entablature, destroying its horizontal continuity, and culminate in bands across the vault.¹²² If we remind ourselves that this part of the work was all executed under the direction of Olivieri, who was Cardinal Gesualdo's "architect" in opposition to Grimaldi, it should be clear that the chances that Grimaldi designed the basic articulation of the nave are fairly small.

Plan, pilaster bundle, *ressaut*, and vault banding can be fitted into Della Porta's stylistic development ca. 1590. This leaves Grimaldi as a kind of catalyst who precipitated the final nave design. But possibly he was something more. Perhaps the gifted designer from the south was responsible for the essential boldness and novelty which lift the nave of Sant'Andrea della Valle above the mass of Roman works of this period, including most of Della Porta's. Perhaps, as at the Gesù, the Madonna de' Monti, and Saint Peter's, Della Porta worked best when he had someone else's design to change. Perhaps the unification of order and vault found at Sant'Andrea would never have been dared by Della Porta on his own.

VI

We must now determine the part that Sant'Andrea della Valle played in the broader evolution of architectural forms in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. This was not a period of daring novelty and innovation comparable to the years around 1630, but rather a long, and at times boring, stretch of recapitulation, of what might be called backing and filling on the part of many designers. Wolfgang Lotz has recently called our attention to some general characteristics of mid-century architectural style. He found a tendency to favor a static, non-directional space in the buildings of the 1550's and 1560's.¹²³ The Gesù broke with the centralizing preferences of the time to combine a complex but essentially static wall articulation with an oriented plan that focuses upon the domed crossing and apse beyond. This aisleless, oriented plan became the accepted type of congregational church between ca. 1575 and ca. 1625, a period that can be characterized loosely as the half-century of Baroque gestation and infancy.

Later sixteenth century architects were faced with a many-sided problem. They were familiar with the variety of ancient Roman architecture and its modern, classic compendium in the works

122. At this point we may distinguish between the traditional pilaster bundle which defines the meeting of two different systems, and the dynamic pilaster bundle of Sant'Andrea. In the former, the lower, or rear, pilaster pertains to an arcuated system on the wall plane, while the upper one serves as the visual support for the vault. This logical Renaissance system is not analogous to the pilaster bundle which pushes both layers up through the entablature in a bundled *ressaut* (as at Sant'Andrea), nor even to the Michelangelesque bundle which pushes up only the top layer as a *ressaut* when there is no other system to support (e.g., at the Palazzo Farnese; see

note 117 above). Michelangelo's use of the *ressaut* is analogous to his use of the colossal order, and they are often found together. At Sant'Andrea the bundled *ressaut* is justified by the bundled pilaster strip of the clerestory, and the continuation of this strip around the vault. The architect of Sant'Andrea thus avoids ambiguity and at the same time destroys the traditional horizontal continuity.

Della Porta used banding across the vaults of Sant'Atanasio dei Greci, although the *ressaut* is employed only at the corners, where it was standard usage.

123. Article cited in note 89 above.

of Bramante and his circle. They knew the sophisticated "modern" styles of the anti-classicists and decorators who prized novelty above all else. They were perturbed by the powerful, individual architecture of Michelangelo. The majority of late sixteenth century Roman architects followed Vignola in accepting some version of the High Renaissance as their guide. More accurately, it had been Vignola who turned to the High Renaissance, and later architects followed him: a mild, eclectic Vignolism characterizes much of the Roman architecture of the later sixteenth century.

The least progressive of these Vignolesque architects, Martino Longhi il Vecchio, was almost exclusively a designer of elaborately paneled and subdivided wall surfaces who gave no thought to spatial effects.¹²⁴ A different side of Vignola is found in the works of Francesco da Volterra, who used the oval plan in San Giacomo degli Incurabili and elsewhere.¹²⁵ But even in San Giacomo, a church of the 1590's, there is still seen a tendency to compose in horizontal layers. In works which are directly comparable in date and design with Sant'Andrea, such as Santa Maria della Scala, static horizontal layering can be seen as his predilection.¹²⁶ The early projects of Ottaviano Mascarino demonstrate an imitation of Vignola (e.g., the oval plan), coupled with the use of free-standing or engaged columns which introduce into Roman architecture a sculptural scenography deriving from north Italy.¹²⁷ From the buildings which he actually executed we may presume that this aspect of his style was not immediately accepted; it is only in his last major work, the nave of San Salvatore in Lauro (1592-1598), that we see one of his characteristically Tibaldian designs executed (Fig. 16).¹²⁸ San Salvatore employs coupled columns supporting a broken entablature and transverse arches; the system serves to break up the nave into strongly articulated bays. This division is much more obvious than at Sant'Andrea, but the pairing of the columns also introduces some diffuseness and ambiguity which, like so much of Mascarino's art, was a relic of north Italian practice.¹²⁹ The paired-column motif, which recalls Vignola's Gesù nave, is at least as much a characteristic of the mid-sixteenth century as it is a progressive design heralding the Full Baroque. San Salvatore in Lauro is nevertheless next to Sant'Andrea della Valle in importance among Roman nave designs of the late sixteenth century.

At this point Della Porta's contribution can be seen in a clearer light. He reacted against the Vignolesque trend of the later sixteenth century, but unlike Mascarino he stayed within the Roman vocabulary while changing the syntax. Unlike typical architects of the Renaissance, he tried to avoid designing hierarchically, and he fought against the Late Renaissance tendency to degenerate into loose federations of units.¹³⁰ Unlike his Vignolesque contemporaries he did not merely compose in successive layers of planes. His solution was to disregard the conventional meaning of order and bay in favor of plastic masses or linear patterns rising through the horizontal layers

124. Compare the façade of San Girolamo degli Schiavoni (1588-1589; see note 80 above) with the contemporary Cappella Altemps in Santa Maria in Trastevere (illustrated in Venturi, XI, 2, figs. 792 and 732-733; the Cappella Altemps is wrongly attributed to Della Porta). In addition to Baglione's biography, see Excursus I in my forthcoming *The Architecture of the Palazzo Borghese*, Rome, 1962, which lists Longhi's works and cites basic bibliography.

125. See Lotz's article cited in note 113 above; Zocca (cited in note 46 above); and R. Wittkower, "Carlo Rainaldi and the Roman Architecture of the Full Baroque," *ART BULLETIN*, XIX, 1937, p. 267 and *passim*.

126. For Santa Maria della Scala, see Baglione, pp. 48f., Zocca, *op.cit.*, p. 527. The same qualities are found in his project for San Silvestro in Capite of 1591 (ASR, *Mappe e disegni*, 86, nos. 531ff.; unpublished).

127. There is no adequate study of Mascarino, but Mr. Jack Wasserman is preparing studies of his architecture and drawings. See Vincenzo Golzio, "Note su Ottaviano Mascarino architetto in Roma," *Dedalo*, X, 1929, pp. 164ff.

128. For San Salvatore, see Golzio, *op.cit.*, p. 186; Wittkower, *op.cit.*, p. 299 n. 99. An *avviso* of August 1, 1598

(Rossi in *Roma*, XII, 1934, p. 40) states that "Li padri di San Salvatore del Lauro hanno già voltata la loro chiesa nuova, che riesce assai maggiore." Only the nave dates from the Mascarino period; the crossing was begun in 1727 (Golzio, "Notizie sull'arte romana del settecento tratte dal diario del Valesio," *Archivi d'Italia*, III, 1936, p. 120).

For Pellegrino Tibaldi's influence on Mascarino it should suffice to cite the interior of Sant'Eusebio in Vercelli (illustrated in Venturi, XI, 3, Milan, 1940, pp. 765f.) and that of San Gaudenzio in Novara (begun 1577), illustrated in Walde-mar Hiersche, *Pellegrino de' Pellegrini als Architekt*, Pärchim i. M., 1913, figs. 24, 26, and Abb. 19. Both churches have a paired column articulation between the chapels of the nave.

129. R. Wittkower, "S. Maria della Salute: Scenographic Architecture and the Venetian Baroque," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, XVI, 1957, pp. 3-10, presents the view that there is a fundamental dichotomy between the columnar architecture of the north and the wall architecture of the south—a kind of architectural equivalent for the *disegno-colore* antithesis in painting.

130. I borrow this phrase from Coolidge, "Little Domes," p. 111 n. 129.

of the building.¹³¹ In order to do this he had to revive and purify Michelangelo's architecture. By insisting on Michelangelesque concentration, and by avoiding Michelangelesque ambiguity, Della Porta put architectural design in Rome on a new footing. Della Porta's blander style became an asset at this point. By reducing conflict, and by emphasizing vertical continuity and clarity, he legitimized Michelangelo and allowed a domesticated version of his style to pass into the bloodstream of Italian architecture.

The reduction of the wall surface to a bundled, plastic mass at Sant'Andrea implies an active relationship between space and solid which is the essence of Baroque architectural drama. The absence of the wall forces the verticals into increased importance; the wide and high chapel openings throw nave and chapel together, creating a unity which is characteristic of Baroque space. Della Porta's development of a vertically unified, dynamic architecture of masses and voids is the progressive element in a period of architectural history that was in part reactionary.

If Grimaldi was the follower, and not the instigator of this new style, he was at least ripe to understand it. In such works as Santa Maria degli Angeli he brought the latest Roman style to Naples. His pioneering work had its influence on G. G. Conforto (San Ferdinando) and later architects in Naples who paralleled, or echoed, contemporary Roman developments.

One ingredient of the early Baroque which we miss in Della Porta and Grimaldi is the use of columns. Della Porta worked exclusively within the native Roman vocabulary, and it took a northerner like Mascarino to introduce a version of northern columnar architecture into Rome. A more productive fusion of Roman tradition and columnar architecture is found in Carlo Maderno's façade for Santa Susanna (1597-1603). This façade, the nave of Sant'Andrea della Valle, and the dome of Saint Peter's form a kind of composite church which best represents the progressive movement in Roman architecture in the decade before 1600. This is an impressive group of monuments which can easily confront the more famous contemporary works of painting in quality and in historical importance.

The change from a static or processional architecture based on horizontal layers to a vertically articulated, interpenetrating, muscularly unified construction is one of the key factors in the development of seventeenth century architectural style. Historically this change is dependent on Michelangelo and on the study of Roman architectural remains. It was at Sant'Andrea della Valle that the first stages of this style were consolidated. While remaining thoroughly Roman, and hence acceptable, Sant'Andrea represents the decisive break with the classical trend of Vignola's late works. At Sant'Andrea the unifying element of light, the higher proportions, the reduction of the nave wall to a series of piers, and the concentrated verticalism created by the pilaster bundle, the *ressaut*, and the vault bands, all combine to create a style which announces the dawn of a new era. All sense of wall vanishes; clearly lighted space and vigorously plastic mass become the means of articulation. The result is the most harmoniously unified of all the large Counter-Reformation churches in Rome.

Although incomplete, the new church made an immediate impression in Rome. In his small church of Santa Maria della Vittoria, begun in 1606, Carlo Maderno created a reduced version of Sant'Andrea with single pilasters along the nave, each of which carries a full *ressaut* up through the entablature. In his contemporary nave of Saint Peter's the *ressaut* and vault ribbing again appear. Thus, through Grimaldi's activity in Naples and by direct influence in Rome, church architecture in both cities was immediately affected by Sant'Andrea della Valle. The next step was the full Baroque architectural style of Borromini which ultimately unified plan, walls, and vault

131. It would hardly be wise to hide the fact that Della Porta's later works—of the 1590's and on—are not so clearly proto-Baroque as our analysis of his preceding buildings might imply. In his last years Della Porta's style seems to have be-

come more linear and patterned. The chief exhibit is the Villa Aldobrandini palace of ca. 1602, which, however, may have been finished by Maderno. See Dr. Klaus Schwager's forthcoming article in the *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*.

into one cohesive and coordinated system by employing supports which continue into the vault.¹³² This style is much more than the product of progressive churches like Sant'Andrea della Valle, but in the dome of Saint Peter's and the nave of Sant'Andrea, Della Porta began the esthetic unification of interior space that was so brilliantly exploited by Borromini.

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132. As at San Giovanni in Laterano, which was planned with a vault (see Heinrich Thelen's report in *Kunstchronik*, VII, 1954, pp. 264ff.). The chapel in the Collegio di Propa-

ganda Fide is the ultimate example of Borromini's tendency to reduce walls to supports which continue up into the vault as ribs.

APPENDIX

With the exception of the last paragraph of Doc. vi, the following records are from the Archivio di Stato in Rome, *Corporazioni religiose*, Teatini di Sant'Andrea della Valle. The heading of each document gives its date, followed by the volume and folder numbers from this archive. I have tried to limit these excerpts to passages essential for full comprehension of the early history. Since this is controversial and in some sense still unsettled, it seemed advisable to reproduce later documents (xvi-xix) having a significance beyond the argument of this paper which throw some light on the early history.

I. 1590?. 2140, no. 102 (37), fols. 47-50.

(A draft of papal requirements and Theatine counter-proposals for dealing with San Sebastianello.)

1. Nella concessione della Chiesa di S. Sebastiano da farsi alli Padri di S. Andrea per unire con la lor Chiesa uicina, si haura di specificare, che la detta Chiesa di S. Sebastiano venga tutta incorporata nella detta Chiesa nuoua da farsi, et nell'atrio, et scale di essa, di modo che le grotte venghino à remanere sotto la detta Chiesa, et atrio

2. Che la fabrica debba incominciarsi, et finire fra un'certo termino, et che s'incominci dalla detta Chiesa di S. Sebastiano, ò uero che prima, che si faccia il detto gettito la fabrica della Chiesa nuoua si conduca sino alla Chiesa detta di S. Sebastiano, secondo il detto disegno, acciò non si getti la Chiesa di S. Seb.^{no}, et poi la fabrica si lasci imperfetta, ò che non si faccia, et compisca nel modo sopradetto, apponendoci quelle pene, che pareranno più conuenienti, . . .

(Theatine answers)

Al 2° faranno quanto se desidera, ma in altro modo più sicuro, e sara che la fabrica si cominciara dalla detta chiesa di S. Sebastiano, e prima si fara il pedamento et muro che ha a seruire per la facciata della chiesa di modo che non si potrà poi mutar disegno . . .

A 4.° si dice che questo s'era offerto a tempo che la chiesa si domandaua per profanarsi, ma al pñte che la chiesa non si profana non e necessario mouere l'ossa dalli luoghi oue si trouano, gia che la chiesa viene incorporata ne fuora de detti luoghi incorporati vi restano sepolture ne grotte, . . .

A 5.° che intendino di smantellar la chiesa, e lasciarci le mura attorno quanto sara possibile . . .

II. 1591. 27 June. 2119 (no folder number).

A di 27 di Giug.^o 1591

Misure degli fondamenti della fab.^a della Chiesa di S. And.^a fatti da m.^o Fran.^{co} muratore

Muro del fond.^{to} fra le due Capelle verso il Paradiso longo p. 38 fondo l'asciutto senz'acqua grosso p. 22¼ . . .

Muro sotto al detto cavato nell'acqua . . .

Muro del fond.^{to} del pilastro della cantonata dalla d. banda longo p. 40¼ fondo sino a tre palmi sotto l'acqua p. 21 grosso 27¾ . . .

Muro del fond.^{to} del 3.° pilastro acanto la facciata del pilastro dalla detta banda longo p. 38 fondo 24 grosso p. 21 si difalca una lunghezza di piedi 38 alto p. 16½ g.^o p. 2 del muro vecchio della facciata . . .

Muro de dua archi fra detti fondamenti longo insieme p. 50 alti p. 11 . . .

Muro fatto per serrare S. Sebastiano longo p. 25 alto p. 16 . . . di matoni

(Total) ∇ 450.78

III. 1591. 5 December. 2119 (no folder number).

A di 5. x^{bre} 1591

Mesura et stima di lavori di m.^o fatti da m.^o Fran.^{co} Tadino muratore alla Nova chiesa di s.^{to} Andrea a piazza di Siena Disfattura del tetto che era sopra la chiesa di s.^{to} (blank) qual se ne fa piazza . . . ∇ 2.08

Per la disfattura dell altar maggiore . . . ∇ 2.

Per la disfattura di altri 4 altari in detta chiesa insieme ∇ 2.

Muro rialzato sopra li dui archi del fondamento della chiesa v.^o li macelli . . . ∇ 2.25

(Total) ∇ 70.73

Io Gio. Paulo Maggi (reduced to ∇ 64)

IV. 1595. 17 August. 2119 (no folder number).

Copia

A di 17. d'Agosto 1595

Misura de lavori fatti di scarpello da m.^o Domenico de Marchesij Scarpell.^o . . . alla fabrica di S.^{to} Andrea in piazza di Siena misurati per me sottoscritto eletto perito da tutte due le Parti, e prima

Misura della pelle del zoccolo di d.^a Chiesa verso il para(diso) delli Macelli che è fatto al piano di Terra di Tevertino dalla banda che si entra la Casa lungo p.^{mi} 50. fino al p.^{mo} pilastro alto rag.^{to} con l'agetto di sopra . . . ∇ 13.75

Misura del agetto del Pilastro che fa cantonata con la faccia di fronte al sellaro . . . ∇ 4.52½
 Misura del zoccolo verso la parte dinanzi della facciata misurata in partite sei . . . ∇ 7.13
 Misura della parte dell'altro Zoccolo verso la parte della piazza delli fornari cominciando dalla banda verso la Chiesa vecchia lunga p. 60 . . . ∇ 14.
 Misura d'un'altro pezzo ch'arriva al'pilastro che risalta nel Cantone lungo p. 47½ . . . ∇ 14.20

Collarini
 Misura di sei collarini sopra li pilastri dentro la Chiesa misurati in pelle . . . ∇ 9.69
 Misura delli collarini delli mezzi Pilastri . . . ∇ 8.50

Misura delle Cimase poste in opera sono lunghe tutte insieme p.^{mi} 203¼ . . . ∇ 67.64

Architravi
 Misura delle Mostre dell'Architravi che sono posti su'nel giro delle Capelle n.^{ro} pezzi trentadue lunghi insieme 26% . . . ∇ 5.82

Cornice
 Misura delle mostre della Cornice sono n.^{ro} pezzi 32 che vaño su'nel giro delle Capelle sono lunghe insieme p. 28% . . . ∇ 9.29½

Misura della pelle piana che fa agetto sopra detta . . . ∇ 2.58

Misura delli dati che vaño sotto li luni delle Capelle . . . ∇ 19.56

Base
 Misura delle base fra le integre, et l'altre poste dentro la Chiesa sono insieme Carrettate n.^{ro} 43¼ . . . ∇ 94.33

Zoccoli sotto le base
 Misura del Zoccolo che fa basamento sopra Cornice grande fuori della Chiesa misurati in pelle sono lunghi insieme p.^{mi} 92 . . . ∇ 26.06

Misura delle mostre della Cornice grande della parte di fuora lunghe fra tutte due le parti della Chiesa pezzi n.^{ro} 8 . . . fanno p. 76½2 . . . altre . . . fanno 76½2 . . . ∇ 6.46

Misura della Cornice grãde che vaño di fuora dalle bade della Chiesa, et p.^{ma} per pezzi n.^{ro} dodici che faño gola gocciaatore longhi ins.^o p. 26½2 . . . ∇ 13.56

Misura delle 4. finestrelle poste dua per fiãco dalle bande della Chiesa . . . ∇ 4.25

Sono li Capitelli numero 6. secondo li patti loro import.^o finiti ∇ 55. l'uno . . . ∇ 330.

Importano tutti li altri lavori calcolati con le soglie quale si mettono per finite ∇ 531.14

Importano tutti, et singoli trevertini hauuti da Mastro Dñico fino al pñte. giorno, sono caretate n.^{ro} trecento trentasei et mezzo . . . ∇ 790.80

(Total) ∇ 1651.93

Io Pietro Paulo Oliviero mano propria data questo di otto di 7bre 1595

V. 1595. 23 September (and later). 2119 (no folder number).
 A di 8 de Marzo 1601

Misura stima delli lavori fatti de scarpello de manifattura poste in opera nella Chiesa de S.^{to} Andrea alla piazza de Siena fatti detti lauori per m.^{ro} Domenico Marchesi e m.^{ro} Simone Castelli et m.^{ro} Domenico de Giudici Compagni scarpellini quali lavori sono notati in un mezzo foglio duna misura fatta per il q. mr. P.^o Paulo Oliviero et revista per me sotto scritto per hordine del R.^{do} Padre Don Andrea et visto d.^a misura et mancandoci partite ce le o aggiunte Come sotto scritto . . .

Mezzo foglio scritto [scritto] per mano del. q. mr. Pietro Paulo apresso de me—

Misura della gola de travertino fatta per la Cornice Grande dentro la chiesa lög tutta da una banda . . . p. 109 . . . ∇ 15.38

Pietre piane che non furno misurate l'altra volta de un pezzo de basamento o zoccolo sul Cantone della chiesa verso la piazza de fornari—

Per la Abozatura de n.^o 82 modelli de traver.^o fra lintieri et quelli che sonno nelli Cantoni delle risvolte quali sonno de manci fattura si metteno luno per laltro con la fattura del intaglio . . . ∇ 106.60

Per n.^o 20 lastre che vanno nelli Cantoncini delle risuolte ouero sfondati dove anderanno le rose di stuccho ∇ 10.

E sotto il di 23 de 7bre 1595 si trova nel libro dove sonno notati dette misure per altre sassi . . . ∇ 52.95

Somma insieme il retro scritto lavoro ∇ 299.51

A di 8 de marzo 1601
 (crossed out: Lavori che Anno fatti detti mastri et sonno in opera et non si trovano nelle misure fatte per d.^o mr. P.^o Paulo misurate per me sotto scritto et p.^{ma}—)
 Per n.^o 32 mostre de traver.^o messi nella Cornice della volta delle 4 Capelle fatte lög insieme p. 24 . . . ∇ 6.80

Per n.^o 10 Cimase intiere delli pilastri in d.^o Capelle al piano de d.^a Cimasa dove impostano li archi che fanno faccia alla nave . . . Computatoci doi Cimase intiere che sonno nelli pilastri doue a da seguitar la Chiesa . . . ∇ 43.86
 (Total) ∇ 430.86

Io Stefano Scarauella affermo de Mano pp^a

VI. 1600. 24 October. 2148, no. 127 (copy). The final paragraph is from a copy of March 1614 found in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano, *Archivio Boncompagni-Ludovisi*, 273, no. 14. Item idem Illustrissimus Dominus Testator declaravit sue intentionis fuisse fabricandi seu fabricari facendi, in honorem Dei, et Beatae Mariae Virginis sub invocatione sancti Andree Apostoli et sancti Sebastiani martirum, ac in redemptionem et remissionem peccatorum suorum et suorum parentum, pro Reverendis Patribus Clericis regularibus Theatinis in Platea Senarum de Urbe, sunt degentibus unam ecclesiam amplitudinis et qualitatibus qua est ecclesia sancti Hieronymi Illiricorum ad Ripetam per fel. record. Sixtum papam quintum aedificatam; et in ea aedificanda exponere summam et quantitatem per eundem Sixtum quintum expositam, et aliquanto etiam maiorem si opus esset, pro viribus et facultatibus (suis), utrum quavis Sixtus V. in dicta fabrica non exposuerit nisi 17. aut 18. millia scuta monetæ vel circiter, ut audivit, et illam prout est perfecerit nihilominus, ipse Illustrissimus Dominus Testator huc usque exposuit ultra 20 millia scuta et adhuc tamen non solum non est perfecta fabrica, sed multum restat agendum, et hoc eo quia dicti Patres Clerici modulum seu formam dictae ecclesiae sanctorum Andree et Sebastiani, valde ampliarunt. Propterea idem Illustrissimus Dominus Testator cupiens eandem fabricam continuare, et ad finem perducere, si Deus optimus maximus vitam et commoditatem concesserit, nunc vero, vires sui Patrimonii ac presentis status sui onera metiens, et considerans ultra summam et quantitates pecuniarum et rerum quascunque usque in dicti praesentis testamenti per ipsum Illustrissimum Dominum Testatorem dictis patribus in usum dictae fabricae, aut alias solutas datas vel largitas, confirmando donationem eisdem patribus de scutis quinque millibus monetæ alias factam voluit, et mandavit quod si dicta scuta 5000 ipso Illustrissimo Domino Testatore vivente soluta non fuerint solvantur omnino infra (?) annum ad summam secuta morte ipsius Illustrissimi Domini Testatoris eosdem tamen Patres rogatos voluit ac rogat ut ex huiusmodi pecunijs construi faciant Tribunal, et Altare Maius dictae ecclesiae, et ante ipsum altare et prope ultimum gradum eiusdem Altaris maioris, eiusdem ecclesiae unam sepulturam pro sepeliendo ibidem solo cadavere ipsius Illustrissimi Domini Testatoris postquam ab hac vita decesserit, cum lapide marmoreo super imposito, latitudinis et longitudinis concedentis cum nomine, et cog-

nomine, titulis, et insignijs ipsius Illustrissimi Domini Testatoris, prout moris est in similibus.

Item eadem ecclesia sancti Andree et sancti Sebastiani in platea Senarum de Urbe tam virtute facultatis per concessionem fel. record. Sixti Papae V. praedicti quam etiam per speciale indultum eidem Illustrissimo Domino Testatori concessum asseruit numisma aureum insignitum imagini Constantini imperatoris ab uno et sanctissimae Crucis ab altero lateribus ipsi Illustrissimo Domino Testatori olim dono datum ab eodem Sixto V. legavit, et reliquit in eadem ecclesia, ut custodiantur [sic] et conservantur [sic] et deinde opinatur in cappella noviter construenda in honorem sancti Sebastiani martiris, prout reperi et conservari mandavit ad hoc ut ob indulgentias dicto numismati concessas ab eodem Sixto Quinto praedicta cappella magis honoretur et orationibus et sacrificiis frequentetur.

VII. 1603. 2148, no. 127.

Scritture appartenenti alla Lite fatta co'li Heredi del Ill.^{mo} Gesualdo (1603-1605)

Si pone come l'Ill.^{mo} Car.^{le} Gesualdo consultò con alcuni suoi amici un suo desiderio di fabbricare una Chiesa magnifica per honore del s.^o Dio et honoranza di sua Casa

Ite(m) che si deliberò et offerse a Pri. Chierici reg.^{ri} abitanti nella Chiesa di S. And.^a in piazza di Siena di volere fabbricare la loro Chiesa.

Ite. che fece fare molti disegni da diversi architetti et fra molti n'ellesse uno accomodato però specialmente dal s.^r Jac.^o dalla Porta b.m. et da altri, et è apunto qsto. che hora è posto in pratica, il quale pero era anche più stretto come si dira apresso

Ite. che fermato qsto. disegno S.S. Ill.^{ma} diede alli Pri. sod.ⁱ un mandato di scudi mille diretto al S.^r Castellino Pinello alli 22 d'Aple. 1589 accioche si cominciassero a fare le provisione necessarie per detta fab.^a

Ite. che misurandosi il sito si vidde che alla grandezza della Chiesa che si era eletto di fare non era sito abastanza, perciò deliberò S.S. Ill.^{ma} di tirare la Chiesa avanti e per effettuare il disegno procurò licenza che la Chiesa di S. Sebastianello si potesse profanare et buttare à terra come si ottenne et esegui. Ite. alli 12 di Feb.^o 1591 S.S. Ill.^{ma} come fondatore di detta Chiesa pose la prima pietra nel fondamento del disegno già fatto, et visto et approvato da S.S. Ill.^{ma} . . .

Ite. che vedendo S.S. Ill.^{ma} che le Capelle riuscivano un poco strette desiderando di fare cosa magnifica le fece slargare et fece fare giunte alli fondamenti dall'una parte et dall'altra

Ite. che vedendo, che alla larghezza della Chiesa slargata per ordine di S.S. Ill.^{ma} era necessario incorporarvi, come con effetto vi s'incorporò, la strada che andava dalla Valle alla piazza de fornari compro la Casa de SS.^{ri} Spada, et la Casa del s.^{or} Giuliano Maniscello, et le pagò, et fece buttare a terra per rifare a strada che s'incorporava in detta chiesa . . .

Ite. che S.S. Ill.^{ma} diede ordine, et fece comprare la Casa del S.^{or} Franc.^{co} Caffarelli con intentione che si butasse a terra per far piazza . . .

Ite. che nell'anno 1590 diede gli tre mila scudi d'ordanaria assegnatione . . . se bene in qll'anno non si spesero tutti

Ite. che l'anno del 93 il mese di Giug.^o si lasciò di fabbricare accioche si posassero i fond.^{ti} et in qst'anno S.S. Ill.^{ma} non diede senon scudi ducento . . .

Ite. che del mese d'ottobre del 1594 si ricomincio a fabbricare con saputa et consenso di S.S. Ill.^{ma} il quale dicendo che non haveva denari pronti ma che gli Pri. gli trovassero che haverebbe poi S.S. Ill.^{ma} pagato il tutto, essi Pri. confidati nella liberalità di detto . . . Car.^{le} . . . fecero un Censo sopra le Case . . . comprate già dal s.^r Fran.^{co} Caffarelli . . .

Talche del 1596 quando l'Ill.^{mo} S.^{ro} Car.^{le} parti di Roma per Napoli di già vi era di debito, col banco la sud.^a somma di ∇ 7929.89 et di più gli ∇ 4000. d'oro in oro del censo fatto tutto con saputa di . . . S.S. Ill.^{ma} et speso in detta fabrica alzata sopra terra sino al Cornigione inclusive.

Ite. che in detta fabrica vi compariva continuamente il s.^r Car.^{le} ordinando et comandando come in cosa sua, et opera che si faceva a spese di S.S. Ill.^{ma}

E perche in quel tempo che non si era lavorato, S.S. Ill.^{ma} era restato un poco disgustato con m.^{ro} Matteo Canevale muratore et Capom.^{ro} in d.^a fab.^a il quale haveva servito con molta diligenza e fedelmente non voleva per qsto suo-disgusto che vi lavorasse più, e per quietare S.S. Ill.^{ma} fu necessario ricevere in compagnia di d.^o m.^{ro} Matteo m.^{ro} Ercole da Murco muratore che all'hora lo serviva nelle sue fabbriche di Casa. Nel quel tempo costituò anche Architetto di detta fabrica m.^r Pietro Paolo Olivieri con provisione di quaranta scudi l'anno che per il passato non haveva havuto tal cura se non il nro. P. D. Fran.^{co} Pre. di d.^a Casa di S. And.^a

Ite. che nello stesso tempo che S.S. Ill.^{ma} andò à Napoli alla residenza del suo Vesc.^{do} che fù del mese di Marzo 1596 essendo già fabricata la Chiesa sino al Cornigione come e già detto, con la presenza et assistenza di S.S. Ill.^{ma} et dovendosi fare la volta col tetto et quel poco d'accomodamento verso il Coro come già si vede fatto lascio in luogo suo l'Ill.^{mo} S.^{or} Car.^{le} di Firenze ordinando a m.^r Pietro Paolo Architetto che non si facesse cosa alcuna senza il consenso di S.S. Ill.^{ma}

Ite. che non volendo il s.^{or} Cast.^{no} Pinelli pagare più denari essendo già cred.^{to} come è detto di ∇ 7928.89 gli Pri. predetti astretti da necessita di coprire la Chiesa per poterla officiare e per la speranza che havevano nell'Ill.^{mo} S.^{or} Car.^{le} Gesualdo . . . pigliorno di debito . . . mille scudi d'oro in oro . . .

Ite. che il sud.^o s.^{or} Cast.^{no} Pinelli non potendo riscuotere detto suo credito dal s.^{or} Car.^{le} cominciò a molestare i Pri. di S. And.^a e vedendo che gli denari presi da SS.^{ri} Erera e Costa non bastavano per coprire la fab.^a offerse a detti Pri. ∇ 2700 . . . che egli haveva . . . da mettere sopra cambij . . . et si servissero di qllo che le faceva bisogno per compimento di questa parte della fab.^a . . . i quali Pri. si per la necessita nella quale si trovavano di finire di coprire e stabilire la fab.^a si anche per dare qualche satisfattione a esso S.^{or} Cast.^o furno astretti di pigliare detti ∇ 2700 d'oro in oro à cambij che furno di m.^{ta} circa ∇ 3320 de quali si servirono per la fab.^a di ∇ 1190 in circa et il restante che furno circa ∇ 2130 gli diedero a esso s.^{or} Cast.^o . . . e qsto fu nel mese di settembre 1596.

Ite. che dell'anno 1600 tornò di nuovo il sud.^o S.^r Cast.^{no} a molestare i Pri. . . In quel tempo il s.^{or} Car.^{le} Gesualdo si trovava in Roma onde i detti padri ricorsero a S.S. Ill.^{ma} pregandolo che volesse pagare qsti debiti della fabrica ò trovasse rimedio . . . ma S.S. Ill.^{ma} non dava orecchie . . . E per l'istessa necessitā venderno anche detti Pri. una loro Casa posta nel sito della loro Isola comprata d'altri denari della pred.^a S.^{ra} Duchessa (d'Amalfi) Ecc.^{ma} che gli bisogna per il sito del loro Monastero che hanno da fabricare . . . di qst anno 1603.

Ite. che . . . Car.^{le} Gesualdo . . . finalmente diede loro intentione et premessa certa di volergli pagare ∇ 5000 . . . ma al fine havendo tirato in lungo qsto negotio sino all'ultimo giorno che voleva partire per tornarsene à Napoli, qñ fu per cavalcare in vece degli ∇ 5000 tante volte promessi lascio un'assegnamento di ∇ 315 l'anno . . . cioe—52.60 per bim.^{ro} . . . per pagare i frutti delli ∇ 5000 promessi . . .

VIII. No date (but another version of Doc. VII). 2148, no. 127.

L'Ill.^{mo} Sig.^r Car.^{le} Gesualdo b.m. . . subito cominciò a trattare che si facessero i disegni, et essendosene fatti molti, si dal firo Pre D. Fran.^{co} come dal S.^r Jac.^o della Porta, b.m. et da altri Architetti, parve a S.S. Ill.^{ma} che essendo qsto sito dove si havera da fabricare d.^a Chiesa luogo molto principale, in mezzo dell'habitato di Roma, il che dava speranza che col tempo d.^a Chiesa fosse per essere molto frequentata, fosse anche bene di eleggere trà tutti quei disegni, qllo che haveva più del nobile, et del magnifico, onde fu eletto il disegno fatto del nro P. D. Fran.^{co} emendato però et moderato secondo il parere di S. S. Ill.^{ma} et degl'altri

Architetti et in particolare del s.^r Jac.^o della Porta, al quale pareva che il s.^r Car.^{le} avesse gran credito.

E perciò alli 22 d'apre 1589 S.S. Ill.^{ma} ci diede un mand.^o di scudi mille . . .

Cominciato poi à misurare il sito si vidde che la grandezza della Chiesa che si era eletto di fare, non era bastante tutta la nra Casa perche arrivava detto disegno dalla facciata della chiesa vecchia sino alla Casa de ss.^{ti} Massimi che confina col nro Giardino; sicche fu necessario di risolversi di tirare detta fab.^a inanzi et occupare tutta la piazza che era avanti alla d.^a Chiesa vecchia, et procurare licenza . . . che si potesse profanare, et buttare a terra la chiesa di S. Sebastianello . . . accio che col sito di ql poco d'Isola che faceva detta Chiesa con le Case contigue si facesse un poco di piazza avanti alla . . . Chiesa da fabricarsi, la quale licenza ancorche con qualche difficultà alfine si ottenne, ma con conditione che s'incorporasse nella nra nuova Chiesa da farsi tutto quello spatio che conteneva l'Altare maggiore . . . di S. Sebastianello, il che fu causa, che la nra nuova fabrica si tirasse piu avanti di qllo che si sarebbe fatto. E perche alla lunghezza della Chiesa vi doveva anche corrispondere la larghezza, fu necessario incorporare in d.^a nra Chiesa tutta la strada che andava dalla Valle alla piazza de fornari . . .

L'anno del 93 per tutto il mese di Giug.^o che all'ora poi si lasciò di fabricare accio che i fond.^{ti} finiti si posassero . . .

Occorse in qsto tempo a S.S. Ill.^{ma} d'andare a Napoli alla residenza di quell'Arcivesc.^{do} . . . et nella sua partita lasciò l'Architetto della fab.^a m.^r Pietro Paolo Oliviero che per l'adietro non aveva mai dato ad alcuno tal cura, ma il nro P. D. Fran.^{co} che aveva fatto il disegno era sempre stato assistente à qto aveva fatto bisogno, et ordinò che d.^o m.^r Pietro Paolo non facesse cosa alcuna senza il parere dell'Ill.^{mo} s.^r Car.^{le} di Firenze al quale aveva raccomandato detta fab.^a et in particolare circa il coprire la Chiesa, . . . onde conferito il tutto con l'Ill.^{mo} S.^{or} Car.^{le} di Firenze acconsenti che era meglio fare la Volta, una sola differenza vi fu che S.S. Ill.^{ma} haverebbe voluto che si fosse fatto una volta pulita et all'Architetto parve meglio d'ornarlo cō qlle fascie che hora vi sono e così fu fatto.

IX. 1604? 2148, no. 127 (follows Doc. VII).

Sumarium Duorum Testium in Civitate Napolitana . . .

Primus Testes—(Padre Francesco Grimaldi)

. . . L'anni passati à tempo viveva . . . Card.^{le} Gesualdo, che jo stava per stantia in lo nostro Monasterio di S. Andrea d. Valle . . . et in Roma un giorno fu richiesto delli Padri nostri . . . che Jo come che me delecto di architettura havesse fatti alcuni disegni per la Chiesa costruenda di S. Andrea . . . et così volendo mandare in essecut.^{ne} quest'ordine datomi dal pto nostro Pre preposto di quel tempo feci diversi disegni et perche noi non havendone la possibilità non dessimo principio alcuno, . . . da la à certo spatio di tempo un'giorno ritornando in Casa nostra . . . il q. Mon.^r Don Benedetto Mandina Vescovo di Caserta allora un'de Padri nostri . . . disse . . . che il . . . Card.^{le} Gesualdo havea già risoluto di costruire et edificare a pedamentis la nostra nova Chiesa . . . quale havessimo designata già intanto che un giorno dopo . . . venne di persona . . . Card.^{le} Gesualdo . . . et . . . tra l'altre cose richieste noi altri Padri sud.ⁱ che l'eramo usciti all'incontro che lhavessimo mostrati alcuni diversi disegni, già che era risoluto esso s.^r Card.^{le} di voler edificare la nova Chiesa sodetta à sue proprie spese . . . et havendo d.^o S.^r Card.^{le} alcuni depitti (?) disegni fatti da me, come perito in quelli che alcuni d'essi disegni erano di spesa di cento milia scudi, et alcuni d'ottanta milia et visti che hebbe d.^o sig.^r Card.^{le} li sud.ⁱ disegni non disse altro per allora . . . dopo dallà certi pochi giorni d.^o q. S.^r Card.^{le} ritornò in Casa nostra . . . et portò seco in compagnia l'Architetto del Papa . . . Sisto quinto che era . . . il Cavalier Fontana, et di novo unitam.^{te} vedero d.ⁱ miei disegni, et giudicorno che stavan bene et d.^o Cavalier Fontana et s.^o Architetto se dachiarodichendo che tutti quelli disegni erano ogn'un' d'essi di spesa di cento milia scudi, et fatto, et d.^o questo se ne ritornò d.^o . . . Card.^{le} giontam.^{te} con d.^o

Architetto senza però dir altro ma ben vero che il giorno seguente appresso di novo, similm.^{te} ritornò da noi . . . giontam.^{te} con lo q. Giacomo della Porta allhora Architetto di S. Pietro di Roma et di novo si ferno portare da me l'istessi sodetti disegni, et quelli visti et considerati da d.^o s.^r Card.^{le} et Giacomo della Porta ragionassero dopoi fra di loro et finito il ragionamento si ne ritornorò à Casa loro et non dissero altro per allhora, et q.^{to} è quanto so Jo intorno q.^{to} primo articulo, et e la verità . . .

Super 2.^o arto' . . . Jo so'ancora, et è vero dalà à certi altri giorni d.^o sig.^r Card.^{le} . . . comando che Jo fosse andato a Casa di S.S.^{ria} Ill.^{ma} et con me havesse portati li disegni fatti da me nel modo che s'è detto di sopra, il che subito feci et andai ad obedire . . . et gionto In Casa . . . di novo spiegò et vedde et anco considerò l'istessi miei disegni unitamente con l'istesso Giacomo della Porta Architetto di S. Pietro, et visti, et considerati d'essi giontam.^{te} et havendone alquanto ragionato insieme me ferno ritornare in mio potere li sodetti miei disegni dicendomi esso s.^r Card.^{le} . . . queste, ò simile parole(:) bene bene padre mio hor' su che il sig.^r Giacomo della Porta Architetto di S. Pietro faremo che lui habbi pensiero di q.^{te} cose di quella fabrica della nova Chiesa di S. Andrea de Valle, et così licentiatomi dalla presenza del s.^r Card.^{le} ritornatomi in Casa con li miei disegni . . . soccesse che concorsero tutti l'Architetti di Roma ogn'un' havendo mira al guadagno, et all'utile proprio, et finalm.^{te} di nuovo si risolse et si fe'portare tutti li disegni in presenza di S.S. Ill.^{ma} et delli sud.ⁱ Mon.^r Benedetto Mandina, quale era ancora tra noi, et di d.^o q. Giacomo della Porta . . . Architetto, et visti et revisti, et spiegati tanto li miei disegni quanto del d.^o q. Giacomo, et d'altri Architetti finalm.^{te} fu concluso che uno di miei disegni fu eletto, et eseguito, et approvato, et q.^{to} à quanto per allhora et è la verità . . . Super 3.^o arto. . . in quest'istessi tempi che furno trattate le cose sudette . . . me ricordo bene che fò sotto (il) Pontificato . . . di Sisto quinto un giorno tra l'altri me spiegò à voce d.^o q. Mons.^r Benedetto Mandina, et anco à tutti l'altri padri di d.^a Casa et in particolare al nostro Padre Preposto di quel tempo che d.^o sig.^r Card.^{le} Gesualdo che haveva dato ordine, che . . . pagassero à noi per far principio à d.^a fabrica di d.^a nostra nova Chiesa di S.^{to} Andrea docati mille di m.^{ta} . . . acciò subito si desse principio senza perder tempo, et così fu eseguito, et hauta realmente in nostro potere d.ⁱ scudi mille fu posta da me, et da d.^o q. Giacomo della Porta, come Architetto eletto da d.^o s.^r Card.^{le} su la terra la misura, et tuttavia furno cavati ivi li fondamenti, et tuttavia se cominciava la fabrica, et questo è vero . . .

X. (Continuation of Doc. IX)

2.^a Testis

. . . me vado ricordando fu nell'anno 1595. che hora me è sobenuto secondo mio ricordo, et prima che fosse eletto Arcivescovo di Nap. . . Ill.^{mo} Gesualdo trattò con me molte volte, et con molti occasioni di volere erigere, et edificare . . . la Chiesa di S.^{to} Andrea . . . , quale novamente s'era designata, et anco dato principio, et fatto lo fondamento delle quattro Cappelle, et alzate alquanto le mura declarandose de volere integramente dare fine da tempo in tempo à sue spese d.^a Chiesa . . .

Sup. 2.^o d.^e Io so questo che si mal non me ricordo nell'anno circa 1589. ò 1590. intesi che furono fatti molti disegni per costruire d.^a Chiesa delli quali poi nell'anno 1595. che Jo restai in Roma veddi molti delli disegni nell'arto. nominati, et questo fò nel detto Monasterio di S. Andrea . . . Card.^{le} Gesualdo fece elezione d'uno di quelli disegni quali Jo veddi, che è, proprio quello conforme al quale si cominciò à fare . . .

Sup. 17. . . Card.^{le} Gesualdo in quel tempo . . . che oltre di haverci lasciati Petro et Paolo Olivieri per Architetti, et per Capo mastri, mastro Mattheo Carnevale, et m.^o Ercole . . . come si à me in particolare come preposto, che non facesse nella fabrica si non quanto ordinava l'Ill.^{mo} sig.^r Card.^{le} di Fiorenza, et . . . me ricordo un'giorno, che fece meco un' lungo discorso, come se dovea fare la volta della lamia (?) et

alla fine se contentò di ordinare che se seguitasse la volta secondo il disegno, et così havuto q.^{ta} bona conclusione se sequitò in quello modo et forma del sud.^o disegno . . .

XI. 1604. 2148, no. 127. (Folio numbers in margin below)
Summariū quinque testiū examinatore Pro RR. PP.

Praeposito . . .

(1.) mag.^r Mattheus (Canevale)

- II Jux. X . . . et me ricordo che quando eravamo su per cominciare la volta il d.^o Card.^{le} andò a Napoli, et anco ho visto il Card.^{le} venire a d.^a fabrica, et era in colera perche l'architetto si doveva che noⁱ havevamo fatto una cornice d'una capella quale al pñte fa il S.^r Horatio Rucellai per non haver fatto d.^a cornice conforme all'ordine di d.^o architetto, e tirovandomi nel lavoro che il Card.^{le} gridava con quelli padri e si lamentava che non era obedito il suo architetto e che voleva in tutti li modi che facessimo quello che ci comandava d.^o Architetto . . . et l'architetto di d.^o Card.^{le} chiamato mr. Pietro Paulo Olivieri al quale il Card.^{le} aveva dato cura di q.^{ta} fabrica . . . e quando il Card.^{le} venne a lamentarsi et esclamarci era il d.^o Architetto con il quale parlava . . . il quale architetto ha continuato sempre a ordinare quello che bisogna in d.^a fabrica sino che visse, e sempre si e obedito e fatto quello che diceva esso architetto, et il d.^o Card.^{le} e venuto più d'una volta a vedere d.^a fabrica . . .
- 4 . . . il d.^o mr. Pietro Paulo Architetto me disse il Card.^{le} si e partito e par che non si fidi di me ha lasciato il Card.^{le} Fiorenza che venghi à rivedere per soprintendente la fabrica se si faceva bene o no . . .
- 4v Jux. 13 d.^t Io non so che il Card.^{le} habbi fatto fare disegno o no so ben questo che quando io venni a Roma erano fatti tre fondamenti verso li macelli del Paradiso et perche quando si dovevano cominciare l'altri fondamenti dall'altra banda de rincontro se avvide che le capelle venivano strette e poco fondate se aggiunse al disegno fatto sette palmi di più per ciascuna delle d.^{te} capelle verso la casa delli Spada quale fù buttata giù e quando fù fatta q.^a agiuntione fù fatta con il parere del Card.^{le} quale ne contentò e questo lo so perche ci venne l'istesso Card.^{le} insieme col P. D. Francesco c'haveva fatto il disegno, et io all'ora servivo a d.^o Card.^{le} e lavoravo in d.^a Chiesa . . .
- 5 . . . e quando fù fatta q.^a resolut.^{ne} di accrescere et allargare d.^{te} capelle viddi che il Card.^{le} ne parlava con il P. Gio: Francesco nella piazza propria di Siena dove furno fondati li pilastri, et il disegno o pianta di d.^a Chiesa con il quale si e cominciato a fabricare d.^a Chiesa non e stato più remutato se non tanto quanto è stato fatto l'accrescimento sud.^o . . .
- 5v Jux. 14 d.^t / . . . non ho visto altro disegno che questo che si e messo in opra, qual disegno fù anco approvato dal suo primo architetto che fù il Volterra che era architetto del Card.^{le} quale morse prima che si cominciasse la fabrica sopra terra, et in luoco suo il Card. piglio mr. Pietro Paulo Oliviero quale gli servì per architetto fino alla morte . . .
- 6v Jux. 27 d.^t il Volterra Architetto venne in casa delli Padri dicendo che il Card. Gesualdo l'haveva mandato per veder li disegni, e per trattare quello che si haveva da fare per dar principio alla fabrica sopra terra e non so da chi sia stato nominato al Card. d.^o Architetto e l'ho ben visto in casa del Card. come Architetto suo quale ordinava in che modo / si haveva da fare una scala per la quale si andava il cantina verso il giardino . . . e non so se il Volterra habbi hauto pagamento alcuno, ma dal d.^o Pietro Paulo ho inteso dire che il Card.^{le} gli haveva assegnato una provisione di 40 scudi l'anno quale per quanto me diceva gli pareva poco ma che se ne contentava e faceva per acquistar credito per andar avanti . . .
- 7 Jux 28 d.^t quando fu cominciato à fondar la chiesa ci erano per Capo mastri Mastro Horatio da Coldrè e m.^{ro} Francesco da Caravaggio ma dopo che si e fabricato sopra terra son stato io capo mastro e poi mi fu dato sopra terra per compagno m.^{ro} Hercole de Ferrari quali me lo

dette l'architetto ò il Card.^{le} ma io non lo so sicuro . . .
Sup. 2.^o Jo ho inteso dire dal P. D. Gio. Francesco soprannominato che il S.^a d.^o Card. Gesualdo haveva fatto vedere il disegno della fabrica di S. Andrea/che si voleva fare e fra gli altri disegni che vi erano capò et approbo il soprad.^o disegno con il quale stato cominciato questa fabrica e seguito è di Jacomo della Porta, intesi anco che avanti si cominciasse la fabrica soprad.^a et io all'ora non ero in Roma

XII. (Continuation of Doc. XI)

Secundus Testis (Apparently P. D. Andrea Nolfi, who kept the accounts of S. Andrea from 1591-1617—see note 50 above.)

- 9v Jux. X d.^t . . .
- 11 E in quanto alli disegni et all'elettione d'essi fatta dal d.^o Card.^{le} Jo lo so perche il P. D. Franc.^o me diceva d'haverne fatti più per ordine di d.^o Card.^{le} quale venne a vederli più volte, et in particolare ci venne una volta menando in sua compagnia il P. D. Pietro Orsino all'ora vescovo di Spoleto per haver il giud.^o suo per d.^{ti} disegni et io viddi quando discorrevano sopra d.^o disegno e fù approvato l'istesso disegno c'hoggi si seguita, e fu parlato anchora d'allargare le cappelle dicendo ch'erano poche sfondate e lo fece vedere ancora a Giacomo della Porta Architetto—
- 11v Jux 13 d.^t credo che circa la Fabrica di d.^a Chiesa siano stati fatti altri disegni oltre a quelli che fece il R. P. Don Francesco ma fu eletto dal Card.^{le} quello che se seguita et in quanto a quelli che fece il P. Don Francesco non occorre pagarli ne meno credo fussero pagati l'altri il che saprei perche sarebbono passati per le mie mano/facilmente, et in q.^{to} all'alterare d.^o disegno per ampliare d.^{te} capelle non mi ricordo chi principalmente ne fù causa ma credo ce intervenisse d.^o m.^{ro} Mattheo.
- Jux. 15 . . . io non so quello che si contiene in d.^o Testamento non sapendo se l'ha fatto o nò. Ne so de verisimilitudine alcuna, ne se egli si ricordasse dell'obbligo suo o nò—
- 14 Jux 24 d.^t . . . l'ultima volta che il Card.^{le} parti di Roma se ben mi ricordo nel qual tempo la fabrica era arrivata fino al Cornicione la sù in / suo luoco il Card.^{le} di Fiorenza quale avesse cura di far finire d.^a fabrica per ordine del quale fù fatta la volta ne voglio mancar di dire che ci nacque non so che differentia tra il Card.^{le} di Fiorenza e l'architetto, et m.^{ro} Mattheo uno de capomastri per causa di d.^a volta perche la mente del Card.^{le} di Fiorenza era che la volta si facesse semplice, e lascia senza quelle fessure che al presente ve si vedono, et niente di meno li d.^{ti} architetto e Capomastro persuasi dal Card.^{le} che si contentassero che si facessero si come si contentò, e furno fatte et che tutta la spesa fatta in d.^a fabrica si è fatta de denari d'esso Card. Gesualdo . . .
- 15v Jux. 27 d.^t mentre si facevano li fondamenti della Chiesa servì per architetto il P. Don Francesco il quale anchora haveva fatto il disegno come si e detto di sopra et essendo andato a Napoli fù surrogato in luoco suo mr. Pietro Paulo Oliverio deputato dal Card.^{le} Gesualdo quale Oliverio servì fino alla sua morte . . . (V 40 per annum) e so che il d.^o Pietro Paulo Oliveri era deputato dal Card.^{le} perche me lo disse il P. D. Gio. Economo di d.^a fabrica al quale fu dato ordine dal d.^o Card.^{le} che s'accettasse per architetto di d.^a fabrica . . .
- 16 Jux 29 d.^t . . . il S.^r Ales.^o Cardello ricercando il d.^o Card.^{le} Gesualdo/per la continuatione di d.^a fabrica gli disse di voler quanto prima far la facciata di d.^a Chiesa et esso Cardello ce l'essortava per quanto d.^o Cardello mi ha referito . . .
- 17 Sup. 2.^o d.^t Io so che d.^o Card.^{le} Gesualdo fece fare diversi disegni n'ellesse uno che più gli piacque quale lo fece vedere a Jacomo della Porta Architetto ple di Roma e q.^o lo so come ho detto di sopra al che mi riferisco . . .

XIII. (Continuation of Doc. XII)

18 *Tertius Testis*

- 19 Jux 8 d.^t / . . . essendo fatti li fondamenti della fabrica della Chiesa di S. Andrea alla Valle un giorno fu fatta Cong.^{ne} nelle stanze contigue alla d.^a Chiesa nella quale intervennero li nri Padri et anchora Mons.^r Don Pietro Ursino Arcivescovo d'Aversa il Volterra Architetto m.^{ro} Mattheo muratore del Card.^{le} . . . fu discorso della spesa . . .
- 19v . . . ma il Volterra per haver detto che sarebbono bastati cinque mila scudi in c.^a in q.^o venne ripreso come tassato di poco giuditio perche la spesa sarebbe stata molto maggiore secondo quello che communemente stimavano gli altri che ivi intervennero . . . e quando il Card.^{le} essendo fatto Arcivescovo di Napoli partì di Roma per Napoli lassò la fabrica fatta fino al Cornicione o poco più o poco meno . . .
- 21 Jux 10 d.^t . . . Che trattando io d'entrare nella Religione de Chierici Regolare . . . il portinaro (al Palazzo di Siena) me disse io vi voglio dare una buona nuova il Card.^{le} Gesualdo ha preso a fare q.^a Chiesa nfa attaccata a q.^o Palazzo, et che già se cominceranno a fare li disegni et le provisioni et essendo stato io accettato poco dopo/ in casa tra li padri non si ragionava d'altro e quasi ogni giorno il d.^o Card.^{le} Gesualdo veniva li in casa a ragionare con li Padri con Jacomo della Porta Architetto— Ite so che il d.^o Card.^{le} et intention sua era di fare la Chiesa di S. Andrea per li disegni esclusi, et accettati quali me furno mostrati a me testimonio da un P^{re} che si chiamava il P. Don Franc.^o quale ne fece alcuni, e questo che al p^{te} si seguita fù accettato dal Card.^{le} p^{te} con consiglio de Jacomo della Porta, e d.^o P. D. Franc.^o dal quale n'era stato fatto uno tra gli altri che faceva quattro Cuppole intorno alla maggiore di mezzo, si lamentava che fusse stato escluso questo perche gli pareva c'havesse piu decoro e magior magnificentia il quale poi fu reformato dalli d.^{ti} P. D. Franc.^o e Giacomo della Porta e ridotto de Consenso del d.^o Card.^{le} alla forma del disegno c'hoggi si seguita anzi il d.^o Card.^{le} lamentandosi che non era obedito mr. Pietro Paulo Oliverio Architetto sopranominato ordinò che d.^o P. Don Franc.^o non s'ingerisse più in d.^a fabrica rimproverando il d.^o disegno di d.^{le} cinque Cuppole dicendo il d.^o P. Franc.^o mi voleva far fare un altro S. Pietro—
- 22 Ite. so per il Test.^o dell'Istesso Card.^{le} Gesualdo . . . nel quale diceva che l'intention sua era stata di fare una chiesa conforme a quella di S. Gerolamo de Schiavoni di Roma e non di meno tutto il giorno d.^o Card.^{le} veniva a vedere d.^a fabrica quale mutava architetti, e muratori, e quando parti da Roma per Napoli d.^a fabrica era arrivata fino al Cornicione inc.^a secondo il disegno incominciato, et accettato da lui, che si seguita hoggi—
- 23 . . . (il) Card.^{le} di Fiorenza con me testim.^o se n'è lamentato di d.^o P^{re} dicendomi che si era portato rozzamente in non dargli sodisfazione nel far la volta piana perche d.^o Card.^{le} la voleva senza d.^{le} fascie ma e ben vero che seguito il parer d'esso Card.^{le} in fare una porta sola nella/ facciata e non tre come si era disegnato—
- 23v Ite lo so che trattando per ordine di d.^o Card. Gesualdo con l'Acciaiole suo compotista sopra l'estintione de debiti come si e detto di sopra me disse il d.^o Acciaiole che io pigliasse informatione della qualità della spesa della facciata di d.^a Chiesa dicendomi che il Card.^{le} la voleva fare et il Cardello anchora me disse il medemo in casa sua con occasione di presentarli il d.^o mand.^o di scudi ducento, e tanti dato per pagarli al Pinelli overo ad altri . . . riferirsi all'Acciaiole la quantità di d.^a spesa della quale non mi ricordo hora precisamente dal che cavo, e cogneturo che volendo il d.^o Card.^{le} far la facciata col nome et Arme sua, et come che havesse voluto fenire d.^a Chiesa—
- Ite. lo so anchora il disegno di d.^a Chiesa eletto et accettato da d.^o Card.^{le} nel quale vi era come al p^{te} vi e il nome cognome titolo, et arme d'esso Card.^{le} quali erano nella facciata d'esso disegno la qual facciata e stata messa in stampa in un volume nel quale sono impresse

molte altre Chiese e tempj di questa Città stampato nell'anno S.^{to} prossimo passato nel qual volume e disegno di Chiesa l'autore fa mentione che d.^a Chiesa estata fondata / dal Card.^{le} Gesualdo il qual libro e intitolato mirabilia Romae al quale mi referisco—

- 24 Jux 13 d.^t circa al disegno mi referisco a quello c'ho detto di sopra, circa al pagamento di chi l'ha fatto questo non e occorso per esser stato fatto dal P. Don Franc.^o se poi mr. Jacomo della Porta overo altri c'habino dato consiglio io non lo so, so ben questo che mr. Pietro Paulo Olivieri Architetto deputato dal Card.^{le} come ho detto / di sopra haveva quaranta scudi l'anno qual fù alterato per piu decenza delle Capelle quali non havevano quello ampiezza e capacità che si conviene, e perciò furno fondate e ridotte nella forma c'hoggi si vede . . . e non saprei dire da chi fosse procurato che d.^{le} capelle si sfondassero . . .

XIV. (Continuation of Doc. XIII)

- 27v Quartus testis . . . mag^r Hercules (de'Ferrari)
- 28v Jux X d.^t Io stando un giorno nel palazzo dell'Ill.^{mo} Card.^{le} Gesualdo a fabricare per S.S. Ill.^{ma} venissimo a ragionamento della fabrica di S. Andrea a / piazza di Siena, et esso Card.^{le} me disse che il Volterra Architetto per prima quale cominciò la fabrica di S. Andrea p^{te} gli haveva dato intentione di spendere da tre o quattro mila scudi, e fare tutto quell'edifitio di Chiesa che si vede al p^{te} donde me disse esso S.^r Card.^{le} che si trovava haver speso sin'all'ora da decidotto [sic] milia scudi, et anco non era la fabrica apena sopra li fondamenti. Dopò quindici o venti giorni se cominciò a mancare li denari che li Padri di S. Andrea non potevano fare li mandati et ordini da farsi pagare, et così fu fatta una Cong.^{ne} nella Cam.^{ra} del Card.^{le} dove intervennero per quanto ho inteso li Padri, l'architetto chiamato Pietro Paulo Oliviero e forsi altri, et così ordinorno e conclusero che ci andava ancora una certa soma de denari per finire quel pezzo di chiesa principata . . . E alcuni giorni dopoi essendo nato disparere tra il d.^o Architetto e Don Francesco che era de Padri faceva architetto, il Card.^{le}
- 29v mi mandò a chiamare, et me / disse de sua propria bocca che non dovesse cosa alcuna di quello che mi comandava il P. Don Francesco ma che dovesse fare, et obedire quanto me comandava mr. Pietro Paulo Oliviero suo architetto, et architetto di d.^a fabrica . . .
- 30v Jux 13 d.^t Jo ho inteso dire che il Card.^{le} haveva fatto fare il disegno della Chiesa dal Volterra per quanto se diceva nella fabrica dalli Padri, et lavoratori di d.^a fabrica e non so quante volte fusse fatto detto disegno, ne da chi sia stato fatto senon come ho detto ne meno so se si sia stato mutato overo ampliato . . . perche era stato fatto avanti ch'io entrassi in quel lavoro—
- 32 Sup. 2.^o Jo ho inteso dire che il Card.^{le} Gesualdo fece fare disegni da architetti per la constrution(e) / di detta Chiesa ma di Architetti io non lo so . . .
- 32v Sup. 14 d.^t . . . il Card.^{le} Gesualdo e stato più volte nella fabrica della Chiesa di S. Andrea . . . e d.^o mr. Pietro Paulo Oliviero architetto di d.^a fabrica posto da d.^o Card.^{le} ordinava tutto quello che bisognava fare in d.^a fabrica insieme con il P. D. Francesco . . .
- (The fifth witness, master Simone Castelli, was also a late-comer, and adds nothing new.)

XV. 1608? 2140, no. 37 (102), fols. 154ff.

(Apparently a letter to Naples from Padre Marcello Pignatelli)

Il p.^{re} prep.^{to} mi ha detto che lei vole dare sadisfatione al p.^{re} D. Francesco con farlo venire à Roma per abocarsi co li Architetti etc. Non puo (?) negarsi di non havere sentito disgusto in sentire questa parola sadisfatione al p.^r D. Francesco, in un Negotio che io non so che cosa lui ci habbia che fare perche se lui pretende che gli si guasti il Disegno suo, Io dico che dalle examine fatte nella lite con il Car.^{le} Gesualdo non trovo che il disegno sia

suo ne meno l'abbia eseguito lui dico non eseguito da lui perche il p.^r D. Benedetto Mandina D. Marco Magnianino (?), e D. Giovanni Piznia (?) sono stati l'esegu.^{ori} ma dico che l'Architetti pagati, e deputati per questo effetto sonno stati posti dal Car.^{le} con ordine che non si obedisce altro che à loro e così cantano tutti li testimonij io per me credo che sia (D. Francesco) piu presto ambizione, e Vanità che altro (perdonatimi) perche se fosse stato vero zelo di questa casa e delle Religione in tanti gra.^{mi} travagli lite, et Imbrogli e debiti, che ha hauta questa povera casa si sarebbe fatto sentire, e pure non so che mai abbia domandato di Volere questa soddisfazione di venirci à socorre, et aiutare, Resta che questo sia zelo di venire a causare con Monte Alto quello istesso che ha causato con Gesualdo . . .

XVI. 1608? 2140, no. 37 (102), fols. 113ff. (another version on fols. 119ff.)

Difetti notati nella pianta del pa.^{re} D. Francesco nel Di fuori

- 1.^o Sproporzione la pianta di fuori nel fare la traversa della Croce piu grande che non è il Manico, contra ogni Regola di croce, e contra l'esempio di simile chiese fatte, e contra l'Autorità dell'Autori che ne hanno trattato, e contra il significato. *Palladio* lib. 4 cap. 2.^o Serlio lib. 5.^o car. 14-16 E 2.^o questo difetto bisogna pagarlo de presenti (*molte*-crossed out in text) tre mila scudi con buttare a terra la casa del Rochetti e per l'altra parte restringere incontro à s. Elisabetta, e far molta scomodità, con quelli Resalti, . . . (illegible)
- 2.^o Fa un Nobil.^{mo} pisciatore e ridotto di sporcizie senza Necessità il che sempre deve fuggirsi dice il Serlio al lib. 4 n.^o 10 trattando de tempij
3. Nessuna altra chiesa in Roma e poche fuori di Roma hanno questo beneficio di essere Isolate, e poter con le porte Laterali incontrare in due strade principa.^{le} per le quale intrare piu Gente che per la facciata. E questo Disegno per un parte le serva sporcamente, e per l'altra non le fa riscontrare in detta strada—*Defetto essenziale*.^{mo}
4. Questo istesso Benefizio di esser Isolata produce che puo far Facciate per tutti li lati, massime nella piazza de Fornari, e questo disegno in tutto la toglie
5. Muta l'ordine incominciato di un pilastro e dui mezzi, e lo Varia contra ogni Regola et esempio, et Autore—*Difetto esse*.^{mo} (other version: . . . li esempi Antichi, e Moderni, e non ma piu volte—ne in opera ne in stampa anzi tutti li Valenti homini hanno questi pari premisto nel esterno ornato che nel interno, con osservare le Mesure e l'ordine . . .)
6. Dalle sopradette porte hanno da Intrare homini e Donne che verran in chiesa, e li sacerdoti e pa.^{ri} che andranno in chiesa à celebrare ò per quel si voglia cosa in chiesa et in *coro* . . .
7. Lasse dette porte senza ornamento, Anzi le sproporziona fuor di modo perche nel spaccare il pilastro per una parte lassa 3 p. per l'altra 6 p. . . .
8. Fa la Sacrestia lontana dalla chiesa con passare per l'aria aperta, con intrare per le porte che di sopra si è detto, 2.^o e quello che è peggio che le pone nel Ventre del Monasterio per far pauroso li servitori dell'i prelati di tutta la casa e farci schiavi per petui—

Defetti osservati nel di Dentro della sopra detta pianta—

9. Nel intrare in chiesa si entra per le porte sopradette, con tanti difetti quali sonno nel Andito longhi p. 17 larghe p. 6—Del che non vi è esempio—oltre al fare un passo molto scomodo la vi si faranno molte Indecenze
10. Nel far queste benedette porte spacca un pilastro di quelli che deve essere contra pilastro alla Cuppola grande et alle mezzane il quale per essere fiacho per se stesso, con questa apertura minaccia gra.^{mo} pericolo, e massime che il suo corrispondente e pare fiacho dov'è l'arco è assai alto—
11. Nel Intrare per dette porte non si entra in chiesa ma si urta in uno pilastro 2.^o e per andare in chiesa si fa strada ò

per le capelle delle cuppole mezzane ò per le capelle delle croce.

12. Hora che semo intrati in chiesa troviamo una delle quattro cuppole mezzane anzi piu che per meta della grande, contra ogni Regola, esempio, et Autore e lui non ne puo dar esempio a simili—Bramante, s'Gallo, Michel Angelo, Vignola Serlio etc.
13. Per fare queste quattro cuppole così grande contra ogni ragione, fa quattro Capelle in fila, contra l'esempio comu.^{mo} che in fine di questo si pone, e contra li *Autori Leon B Alberti* lib 7 cap. 4.^o—e qui sta tutto il suo Achille, perche vole che l'arco di questa debbia corrispondere alle capelle posteriore acciò nel Alzata non faccia brutto vedere—Il che tutto si nega con esempij del Giesu fatto d Vignola, S. Andrea delle Fratte, di Mascrato (?) dal quale chi fece questa nra chiesa rubba il tutto, e del Serlio al lib. 5.^o car. 14 ove appresso fa l'alzata e fa che le cuppole si rispondino esternamente e internamente, il che non fa lui, e che non devono corrispondere con le posteriore capelle come parte diversa che non ha che fare, con il corpo ma con la testa perche di quella e membro.
14. In queste cuppole non vi è sorte di corrispondenza nelli membri, (defetto enormissimo,) in percioche nelle prime non fu corrispondenza, nel altra le fa per sfondate (?) de una parte che del altra—e per fare questi difetti le dui forme le rende inornabile e per questo difetto e per la spesa eccessiva, per guastare le altre guasta il Coro—
15. Questo far queste cuppole così grande, oltre al altri difetti che fanno causare, slongano di piu la chiesa, quale per essere alta e stretta secondo la comu.^{ma} la fara assai piu stretta,—2.^o e sarà di Magior spesa per la fattura, e per l'occupare magior sito che si vole dare, le debite misure occupa tutto il Giardino, ma il tutto gli sia concesso perche, paghi le Magnificenze dove era posta, e sia conforme alle Regole, e boni Statuti, et esempi, e non di suo capriccio, acciò non disgustassimo il Car.^{le} e ci facessimo favola di tutti con tanti esempij
16. Fa il pilastro che deve reggere la cuppola grande fiachissimo . . .
17. Ristringere la cuppola grande e la fa meno del Vivo della Nave, difetto contra tutte le Ragioni esempij, et Autorj, e tutti hanno posta la Magnificenza in questa e gra.^{mo} Giudizio, e lui la leva con farvi una cappa de camino, ò un Cacatore,
18. Fa nascere detta Cuppola in falso, e senza Nascimento, contra le Comu.^{ma}
19. Restringe la Nave della Croce, e repiglia tutti li difetti che gli furono emendati da Jacomo della Porta, contra la comunissima (?)
20. Scorta detta Nave havendo sito, difetto esse.^{mo}
21. Le capelle di detta Croce dove sta il piu bello ornato della nostra chiesa non vengono sfondate se non quanto dare li pilastri e per conseguenza non si puo ornare—che vaglia (?)
22. Non va a linea retta con le porte delle capelle, e noi per necessita di far la cuppola grande havemo abbracciato questo solo difetto si bene diversamente, e havemo hauti ad essere lapidati—pensate che sarà del resto
23. Non fa corrisponde del di fuori le cappelle delle cuppole Mezzane 2.^o e non seguita l'ordine incominciato, e nel Alzate non camminano le fascie
24. Fa piu stretto il Coro, o testo della Nave
25. Non vi fa coro—
26. Non vi fa loco per li confessorij che son inbratti il vivo della Nave e . . . (?)

XVII. 1608? (Continuation of Doc. XVI) Fol. 120v.

E questi difetti n.^o 30 (written over "20") sonno nella sola pianta che sarà nel Alzata—e tutti questi difetti li ha fatto in ventiquattro Anni per che tanto tempo dice lui che ci ha studiato—in cavare dal suo capriccio tutti questi difetti . . . e di questa casa essendo stato reprobato nella sua Nascita de tutti li Valenti homini che furono à quel tempo. Il Fontana, Volterra, e Jacomo della Porta

come nel processo della lita contra li Heredi di Gesualdo si vede, car. 3-4-7-10-17-21-29-30-34- nel quale si vede che detto p.^e D. Francesco non fu mai Architetto . . . (di) detta fabrica . . .

XVIII. 1608? (Among same papers, fol. 115)

Ragioni che aduce il pa.^{re} D. Francesco in difesa di questo suo Disegno

- p.^o che è piu Magnifico per queste quattro cuppoloni, quali mettono in mezzo la grande
- 2^o che non si fa da Instar della chiesa del Gesu ma si migliora—
- 3^o che il defetto delle porte l'ha usato Michel Angelo in s. Pietro—
- 4^o che camina con piu ordine per far caminare ogni cosa ad un piano—e massime L'Archi di defuora—

Al p.^{mo} si e detto che la sua cuppola grande, e piu piccola della Regola, e massime di Michel. Angelo—quasi per meta, perche lui da 180 p. alla cuppola e alla nave 100—e il p.^e D. Francesco da l'istesso al uno, e al altro, e cosi non fa chiesa Magnifica, ma peggio di quella del Giesu, e poi per le quattro Cuppole per Meta e Michel. Angelo le fece di un 3^o

XIX. 1608? (Continuation of Doc. XVIII) Fol. 117 (other version on fol. 118).

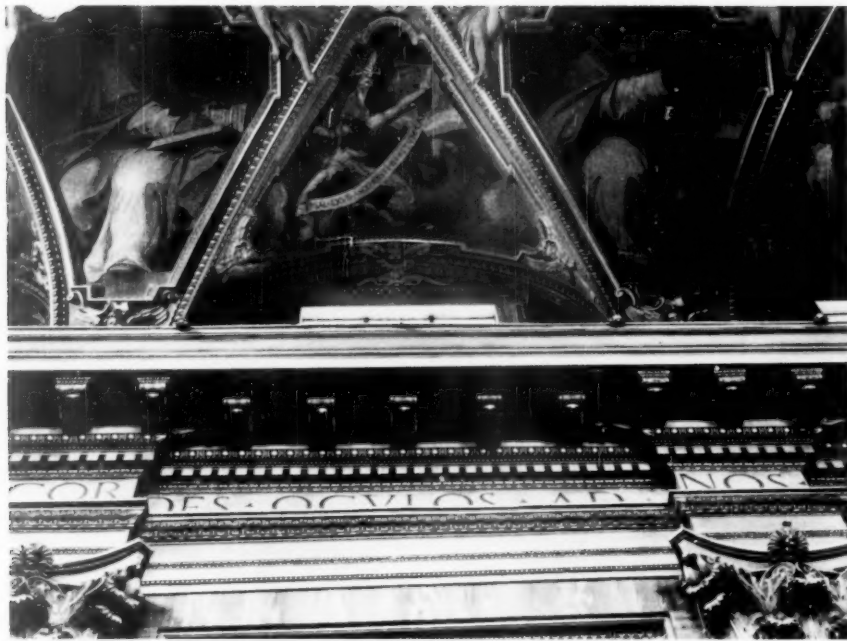
Il Disegno fatto da Carlo Maderno Architetto datoci dal Ill.^{mo} Car.^{le} Monte Alto, e da Mons.^e Gio. Fedele Vice Gerente, e sig.^r Ottavio Barzi leva via tutti li Defetti che erano in quello del p.^e D. Francesco . . .

- p.^o Nel Di fuori fa la Croce proporzionata
- 2^o Leva quel pisciatore
- 3^o fa li resalti in luoco che non stringe la strada, e non sforza . . . la chiesa di s. Elisabetta
- 4^o serva l'istesso ordine che e di un pilastro e dui mezzi per tutto nel difuori—

8 In tre capelle, e non quattro conforme alla Comunissima opinione e *Muta* l'arco, per contra distinguere la Basilica, dal Tempio, ma gli fa le sue corrispondenza di dentro, e di fuori, e camina con l'istesso ordine . . .

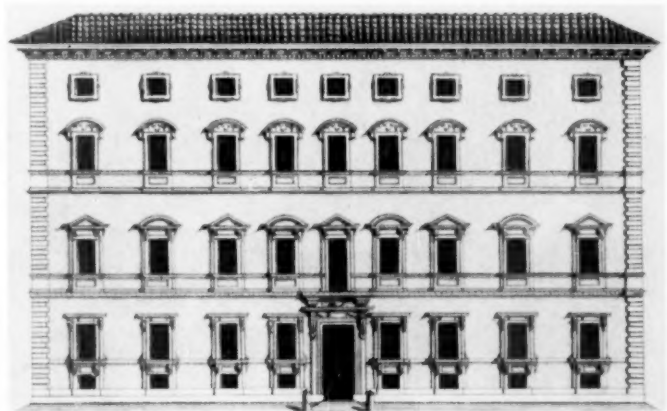
9 Fa la cuppola grande, piu grande del Vivo della nave, e non piu piccola conforme a tutte le Regole, e Autori,

16 fa che le cuppole piccole si possono ornare co Depinti uniformi, e cosi restera tutta la chiesa ornat^{ma}—dico di quelle dove passono le porte—

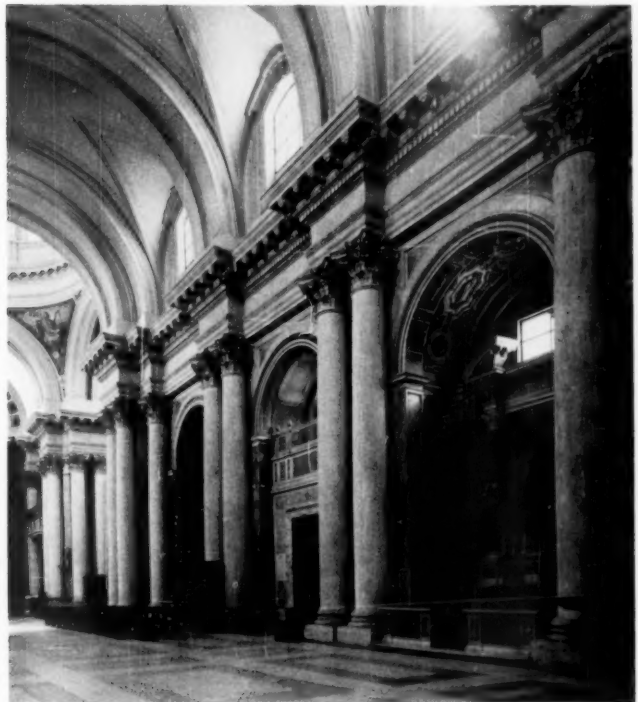


13. Madonna de' Monti, Rome. Nave entablature, detail (photo: Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale)

14. Palazzo Crescenzi-Serlupi, Rome. Façade
(From G. B. Falda, *Nuovi Disegni . . .*,
Rome, 1655)



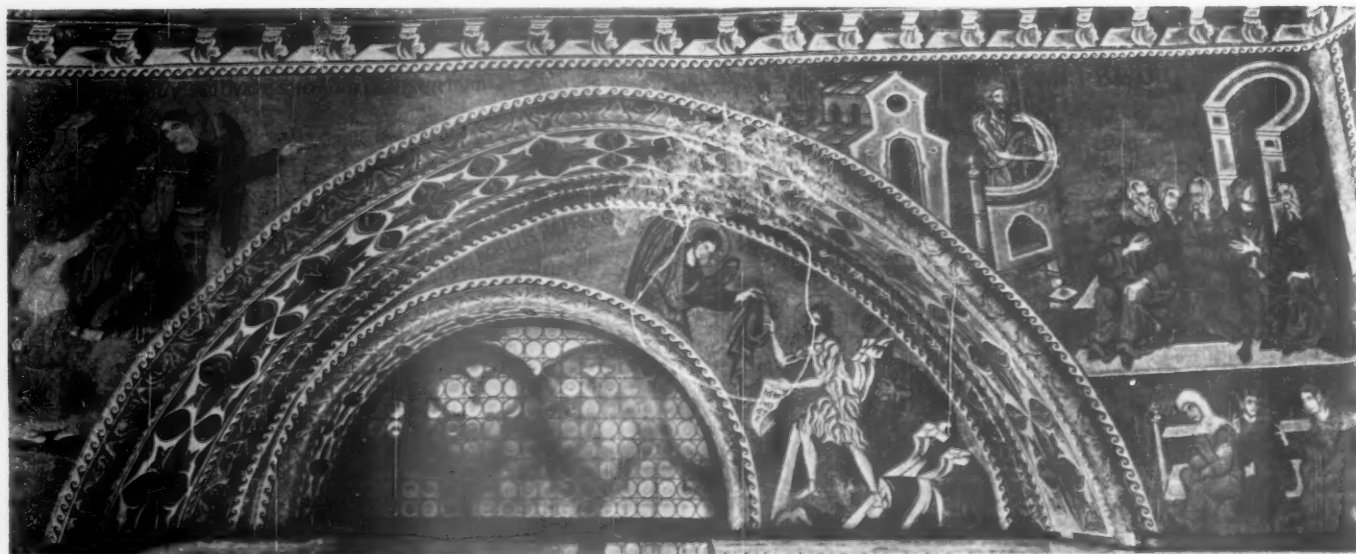
15. St. Peter's, Rome. Domes (photo: Alinari-Anderson)



16. San Salvatore in Lauro, Rome. Interior



1. *Elizabeth and John Hiding from Herod's Soldiers; Vocation of St. John*
Cappadocia, Tokali Kilise, Old Church, x cent. or later (after Jerphanion)



2. *St. John and Uriel in the Desert; St. John Receiving a Garment from an Angel; St. John Preaching*
Venice, San Marco, Baptistery, 1343-54 (photo: Alinari-Anderson)



3. *St. John Receiving the Camel's-hair Raiment*, Florentine School (?), late XIV cent., Bern Gallery



4. Domenico Veneziano, *St. John Changing Clothes in the Desert*, ca. 1438
Washington, National Gallery of Art, Samuel H. Kress Collection



5. Cathedral of Pordenone



6. Baptistry of Treviso

5-6. *St. John Receiving Raiment from an Angel*, attr. to the circle of Pisanello, ca. 1419-25 (after Coletti)



7. Masolino and Domenico Veneziano (?), *St. John Receiving the Camel's-hair Raiment*, ca. 1435. Baptistry of Castiglione d'Olona (photo: Hellmut Wohl)



8. Fra Filippo Lippi, *Adoration of the Child*, 1459, detail. Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum



9. Rosso Fiorentino, *Madonna and Child with St. Anne and the Young St. John*, ca. 1518-21. Los Angeles County Museum



10. *Madonna and Child with St. Anne and the Young St. John*, attr. to Andrea del Sarto, first quarter of the XVI cent. Verona Gallery (photo: Alinari-Anderson)

NOTES

GIOVANNINO BATTISTA: A SUPPLEMENT

MARILYN ARONBERG LAVIN

When dealing at length with the iconography of the Infant St. John in Italian Renaissance art some years ago,¹ I presented certain errors of fact while overlooking other pertinent material altogether. The purpose of the present paper is to correct what errors I can and to bring the newly acquired information to bear on the subject.

Although the Infant St. John the Baptist became one of the most familiar figures of the Florentine Renaissance, his origin lay deep in a tradition of apocryphal writings from the eastern Mediterranean world. Starting in the Early Christian period and continuing through the Middle Ages, a body of legends developed to account for St. John's life after his miraculous birth and before the time of the Baptism of Christ. (The only Biblical mention of John before his public mission is the story of his conception, birth, and naming, recorded in the Gospel of Luke [1:1-80]). The legends deal mainly with the death of John's parents, his infancy,

early childhood, and the beginning of his life in the desert. One of the earliest apocryphal sources is the second century "Book of James," the so-called *Protoevangelium*, where it is related that at the time of the Massacre of the Innocents Elizabeth took the infant John and fled to the hill country. When she cried out for a hiding place, a mountain miraculously opened to give them shelter and an angel came to protect them.²

This story, as I have indicated, had a continuous literary tradition in the Eastern world;³ what I did not mention, however, was that the incident also had a very ancient history in visual representations. The scene, which is usually shown in conjunction with the Massacre of the Innocents, generally takes one of two forms: Elizabeth carries the infant John toward mountains to escape the pursuing soldiers of Herod; or Elizabeth holding her child stands or sits inside the cleft mountain (Fig. 1). Because of the comparative rarity of this subject and the more or less incomplete statements that have been made about it,⁴ I am including here a fairly substantial list of examples with their location, date, and description.⁵ From this list it may be

1. M. A. Lavin, "Giovannino Battista, a Study in Renaissance Religious Symbolism," *ART BULLETIN*, XXXVII, 1955, pp. 85-101; hereinafter referred to as MAL.

2. *Apocryphal Gospels, Acts and Revelations*, Ante-Nicene Christian Library, ed. A. Roberts and J. Donaldson, Edinburgh, 1873, XVI, p. 13.

3. MAL, n. 5, n. 7, citing among others the Serapion text (A.D. 385-395) and the "Slavonic" text, ninth century or later.

4. E. Capps, Jr., "An Ivory Pyxis in the Museo Cristiano and a Plaque from the Sancta Sanctorum," *ART BULLETIN*, IX, 1927, p. 338 n. 49; C. R. Morey, *Early Christian Art*, Princeton, 1942, n. 135, n. 168; E. D. Sdrakas, *Johannes der Täufer in der Kunst des christlichen Ostens*, Munich, 1943, pp. 22-25; K. Weitzmann, *The Fresco Cycle of S. Maria di Castelseprio*, Princeton, 1951, pp. 81f.; A. Masseron, *Saint Jean Baptiste dans l'art*, Paris, 1957, pp. 57ff.

5. Specifications for the scene are given in the Byzantine Painters' Guide, cf. M. Didron, *Manuel d'iconographie chrétienne*, Paris, 1845, Guide de la Peinture, deuxième partie, p. 356. Examples are: 1) fresco, underground church, Deir Abu Hennis (Antinoë, Egypt), after 6th cent., Elizabeth and John in mountain (F. Cabrol, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et liturgie*, Paris, 1921, I, col. 2348; II, col. 241-43; III, col. 2898, note g.; V. Grunewald, *Les caractéristiques de l'art Copte*, Florence, 1922, pl. XXIX); 2) fresco, chapel XVII, Bawit, 5th-8th cent., Elizabeth carrying John, surrounded by four figures (H. Leclercq, *Dictionnaire*, Paris, 1910, II, 1, col. 243); 3) hypothesized subject on lost ivory plaque from the Chair of Maximianus, Ravenna, possibly Egyptian origin, c. 500 (G. de Jerphanion, "La véritable interprétation d'une plaque aujourd'hui perdue de la chaire d'ivoire de Ravenne," quoted by E. Mâle, *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Comptes Rendus*, May-June, 1939, p. 304); 4) Egyptian ivory pyxis from Vouët-Chilhac, ca. 525, Louvre, Elizabeth standing in cave holding John (Capps, *op.cit.*, p. 338, fig. 4); 5) terracotta medallion, probably Palestinian, 6th-7th cent., Bobbio, Italy, Elizabeth running toward mountains holding John, guided by flying angel (G. Celi, *Cimeli Bobbiesi*, Rome, 1923, p. 47, fig. 16; A. Grabar, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte*, Paris, 1958, p. 44, pl. LVI); 6) possible subject of damaged fresco,

Santa Maria di Castelseprio, north Italy, 8th-10th cent., Elizabeth running in rocky landscape holding John (Weitzmann, *op.cit.*, pp. 81f., figs. A and 75); 7) miniature, Gregory Codex, Paris, Bibl. Nat. Cod. gr. 510, fol. 137v, 880-886, half figures of Elizabeth and John in cave (H. Omont, *Facsimilés des miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale du VI^e au XI^e siècle*, Paris, 1902, pl. XXXII); 8) frescoes of Cappadocia: i) Göreme, Chap. of St. Eustathius, 10th cent. or later, Elizabeth seated in cave with John on her lap (G. de Jerphanion, *Les Églises rupestres de Cappadoce*, Paris, 1925, I, 1, p. 79, pl. 38/3); ii) Göreme, Old Church, Tokali Kilisse, 10th cent. or later, Elizabeth in cave seated with John on her lap (*ibid.*, I, 1, pp. 269, 274, pl. 65/1) (fig. 1, left half); iii) Belli Kilisse, Chap. 1 (Le Petit Cone), 10th cent. or later, heads of Elizabeth and John among rocks (*ibid.*, II, 1, p. 280, pl. 182/1); iv) Sousam Baïri, church of St. Theodore, 10th cent. or later, Elizabeth in cave holding John (*ibid.*, II, 1, p. 33, pl. 148/2); v) Tchaouch In, church (Le Pigeonnier), 10th cent. or later, Elizabeth holding John in cave (*ibid.*, I, 2, p. 534, pl. 142/2); vi) Tchaouch In, church of Saint John the Baptist, 10th cent. or later, Elizabeth in desert, seated with John on her lap (*ibid.*, I, 2, p. 516); vii) El Nazar, Chapel, 10th-14th cent., Elizabeth seated in cave holding John (*ibid.*, I, 1, p. 188, pl. 41/2); 9) ivory altar frontal, Salerno Cathedral, south Italian, 11th cent., Elizabeth holding John in cave (A. Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der romanischen Zeit, XI-XIII. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1926, IV, no. 126, p. 36, pl. XLV, fig. 29); 10) gold Barbarossa casket, Treasury, Genoa Cathedral, 12th-13th cent., Elizabeth holding John (O. Grosso, "Il Tesoro della Cattedrale di Genova," *Dedalo*, II, 1924, fig. p. 418); 11) fresco, church of the Forty Martyrs, Tirnovo, Bulgaria, 1218-1241, Elizabeth as bust holds John (B. Filov, *Die albulgarische Kunst*, Bern, 1919, pp. 63-66, pl. 32); 12) miniature, Gregory Codex, Chicago, Univ. Lib., Greg. 2400, fol. 9v, 1265, busts of Elizabeth and John (H. R. Willoughby, *The Rockefeller McCormick Gospel*, Chicago, 1932, pl. fol. 9v); 13) relief, Cathedral of Léon, Spain, west front, left portal, second half 13th cent., Elizabeth holding John (H. Mahn, *Kathedralplastik in Spanien*, Tübingen, 1935, fig. 138); 14)

seen that the few Early Christian examples originated mostly in Egypt, the probable home of the iconography.⁶ From there it seems to have circulated eastward around the Mediterranean, becoming by the tenth century a familiar feature in the frescoes of Cappadocia. In later Byzantine art it did unlimited service, appearing in Bulgaria, Rumania, Spain, and Italy, as well as in Constantinople and Greece. Its appearances in Italy, of particular interest to us, seem to have been always under direct Byzantine influence, and by the end of the fourteenth century, when that influence had all but ceased, the iconography disappeared from Italian art.⁷

Besides the Flight of Elizabeth and John, the only incident from the Baptist's legendary early life that was depicted in mediaeval art was the scene of infant John walking with the Archangel Uriel. The earliest example known to me is in a Byzantine manuscript of the eleventh century where the angel leads little John by the hand from left to right as he points toward a mountain.⁸ This scheme seems to have come into fre-

quent use late in the Middle Ages simultaneously in the East and in Italy,⁹ but whereas it remained constant in Byzantine representations varying only in minor details, in Italy it was soon changed in both content and form.¹⁰ This change, I believe, was affected by the appearance in the early fourteenth century of a literary source on the life of St. John more complete than any known in Italy before this time.

The fourteenth century *Vita di San Giovanni Battista* is a vernacular translation of what was presumably an anonymous Latin life of St. John dependent on the rich legacy of eastern legends. The Italian translation, while amalgamating nearly all the elements of the mediaeval tradition, also adds many embellishments and incidental details to the narrative. In mentioning the *Vita* earlier I assumed the translation to be the work of Fra Domenico Cavalca (ca. 1260-1342), the Pisan monk whose literary efforts include many such translations. It has since become evident that this attribution, which many other scholars have followed, is unfounded.

fresco, church of Nicoara, Curtă de Argeș, Rumania, 13th-14th cent., Elizabeth holding John (O. Tafrali, *Monuments byzantins de Curtă de Argeș*, Paris, 1931, pp. 122ff.); 15) mosaic, Kariye Camii, Istanbul, 1300-1310, Elizabeth carrying John into mountains (T. I. Schmit, "Kahrîeh-djami," *Constantinople Russkii arkheologicheskii institut Bulletin* (Russian), XI, 1906, p. 187, pls. xxxvi-xxxviii); 16) mosaic, Baptistery of San Marco, Venice, 1343-1354, Elizabeth carrying John into mountains (R. Tozzi, "I Mosaici del Battistero di S. Marco a Venezia e l'arte Bizantina," *Bollettino d'arte*, xxvi, 1932-33, p. 420, fig. 2); 17) polyptych, Baptistery of Padua, attr. to Giusto de' Menabuoi, second half 14th cent., Elizabeth standing in desert holding John (A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, Milan, 1907, v, p. 922); 18) fresco, Theoskepastos, Trebizond, 1376, Elizabeth carrying John into mountains (G. Millet and D. Talbot Rice, *Byzantine Painting at Trebizond*, London, 1936, p. 161, pl. xix, 2); 19) fresco, church of the Brontocheion, Mistra, 14th-15th cent., Elizabeth carrying John into mountains (G. Millet, *Monuments byzantins de Mistra*, Paris, 1910, pl. 93/3); 20) painting, North-Netherlandish Master, ca. 1480, Boymans Museum, Rotterdam, Elizabeth and John running from Massacre of the Innocents (Museum Boymans, Rotterdam, *Jeroen Bosch Tentoonstelling*, 1936, cat. no. 25, pl. 45; MAL, n. 66); 21) fresco, Trapeza, Monastery of Laura, Mt. Athos, 1512, Elizabeth standing in cave holding John (G. Millet, *Monuments de l'Athos*, Paris, 1927, I, pl. 142/2); 22) fresco, Trapeza, Monastery of Dionysiou, Mt. Athos, 1547-1603, Elizabeth standing in cave holding John (*ibid.*, pl. 212/3).

6. It is interesting to recall that the 4th century Serapion text was also produced in Egypt.

7. The one exception would be Leonardo's composition of the *Madonna of the Rocks* where reference is made to John's hiding place in the cave; MAL, p. 96 and n. 67. Cf. also R. Eisler, "Leonardo's *Virgin of the Rocks*," letter to the editor, *Burlington Magazine*, xc, 1948, pp. 239-240.

8. Paris, gr. 74, fol. 107v (H. Omont, *Évangiles avec peintures byzantines du XIe siècle*, Paris, 1908, II, p. 95[2]); cf. MAL, p. 86 and n. 10, citing the "Slavonic" text where it is told that after being called out of the desert for a meeting with the Christ Child, the infant John returned to the mountain with the angel who is identified as the Archangel Uriel (chap. vi, v. 7).

9. Examples are: 1) St. John Altar Frontal, Siena, R. Pinacoteca, 1260's (MAL, fig. 4); 2) fresco, Parma Baptistery, ca. 1259-1270 (L. Testi, *Le Battistero di Parma*, Florence, 1916, fig. 162; MAL, n. 12); 3) slab from lost silver plaque (cast in Vatican, Museo Cristiano), early 14th cent. (MAL,

fig. 2); 4) relief, Baptismal Font, Santa Maria della Pieve, Arezzo, attr. to Giovanni di Agostino, 1332-1333, John directed by angel flying above (as in Bobbio medallion, see above n. 5, 5; J. Pope-Hennessy, *Italian Gothic Sculpture*, London, 1955, p. 20, 190, pl. 35); 5) mosaic, Baptistery of San Marco, Venice (restored), 1343-1354 (Tozzi, *op.cit.*, p. 419, fig. 1) (Fig. 2, left); 6) miniature, Brit. Mus.-Add. 39627, fol. 141v, 1356, Bulgarian (B. Filov, *Les miniatures de l'évangile du roi Jean Alexandre à Londres*, Sofia, 1934, pl. 69); 7) scene from polyptych, Palazzo Comunale, Montalcino, Italy, attr. to Bartolo di Fredi, ca. 1382 (L. Rigatuso, "Bartolo di Fredi," *Diana*, ix, 1934, pl. 11 opp. p. 242, who calls it *Tobias and the Angel*; but since the child carries a scroll, not a fish, it is more likely a scene of John and Uriel. Cf. G. M. Achenbach, "The Iconography of Tobias and the Angel in Florentine Painting of the Renaissance," *Marsyas*, III, 1943-1945, p. 73, where it is pointed out that when the Byzantine scene of John and Uriel disappeared from Italian art its form was carried on in scenes of Tobias and the Angel; see also E. H. Gombrich, "Tobias and the Angel," *Harvest*, I, 1948, pp. 63-67); 8) fresco, Cathedral of Vladimir, Russia, 1408 (M. Alpatov and N. Brunov, *Geschichte der altrussischen Kunst*, Augsburg, 1932, p. 369, pl. 227); 9) fresco, Trapeza, Monastery of Laura, Mt. Athos, 1512 (Millet, *Mon. Athos*, I, pl. 142/2); 10) Byzantine Icon, Bologna Museum, 15th-16th cent., top right corner (N. P. Kondakov, *The Russian Icon*, Prague, 1929, II, pl. 131); 11) fresco, Trapeza, Monastery of Dionysiou, Mt. Athos, 1547-1603 (Millet, *Mon. Athos*, I, pl. 212/3).

10. The independent Italian form of the scene, namely John in the wilderness without an angel, emerged in the 13th century mosaic in the Florentine Baptistery (MAL, fig. 7). This form was perpetuated throughout the Italian Renaissance, many examples of which are cited in MAL, pp. 88f., n. 24, and n. 33. Among other examples, see the bone triptych, Baldassare degli Embriachi, 1400-1410, left wing, right corner of bottom register, Metropolitan Museum of Art (J. Breck and M. R. Rogers, *Handbook of the Pierpont Morgan Wing*, New York, 1925, p. 119); miniature, Latin gradual, Nuremberg, Mus. Germ. Nat. Bibl. 21897, fol. 249v, 14th-15th cent. (H. Swarzenski, *Die lateinischen illuminierten Handschriften des XIII Jahrhunderts in den Ländern am Rhein, Main und Donau*, Berlin, 1936, pl. 105 [607]); *Madonna and Saints*, Domenico di Bartolo, 1438, left end predella, Pinacoteca Vannucci, Perugia (R. Van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, The Hague, 1927, IX, p. 543, fig. 340; detail of predella, Alinari 55993; this example was brought to my attention by Hellmut Wohl).

The confusion arises from the fact that to eighteenth and nineteenth century editions of the *Vite de' Santi Padri*, a separate work by Cavalca,¹¹ was appended a series of lives translated by several unknown fourteenth century Italians, which includes the *Vita di San Giovanni Battista*.¹²

One of the many details of the fourteenth century *Vita di San Giovanni Battista* that can be traced to a source in the ancient eastern literary tradition is that of the divine origin of John's camel's-hair raiment. The "Slavonic" text (chap. ix, v. 1-2) relates: "... afterwards when John was five years old, he was delivered into the hands of the Archangel Uriel; he was clothed in camel's-hair raiment. . . . And as he grew older it never tore, just as the Lord had a cloak woven in heaven and unsewn."

The fourteenth century *Vita* (p. 305) states: "And when the time came that his clothes were so worn out that they fell to the ground . . . as God wished, one day [John] found a camel's skin; and I cannot imagine how this could have happened if it were not that God had it prepared for him by His angels. . . . John, seeing this skin, immediately thought about putting it on . . . and began to thank God who had it prepared for him; and he clothed himself in the hair garment." I have shown that this passage in the *Vita* was the probable source for a number of Tuscan paintings;¹³ The Florentine (?) predella in the Bern Gallery (Fig. 3) is very close to the description: John dressed in a dark cloth tunic, is guided by one angel toward a second who holds the hair shirt. I have also cited the passage as the origin of Domenico Veneziano's predella from the St. Lucy Altar (ca. 1438) in the National Gallery of Art (Fig. 4). I now feel that the latter derivation is an oversimplification. I would therefore like to enlarge on the point and present what ap-

pears to be the logical sequence of iconographic development that led up to Veneziano's innovation.

To do this I must first return to the Baptistry of San Marco where, as has been noted, between 1343-1354 two scenes of John's legendary youth, the Flight of Elizabeth, and the Infant St. John led by Archangel Uriel (Fig. 2, left), were represented. On the spandrel to the right of the window below the second scene we find the following (Fig. 2, center): the mature, bearded Baptist, dressed in camel's hair, stands in a rocky desert, holding a scroll inscribed "Repent," in Greek. To his right an angel carrying a scepter bends down from above and proffers a garment which John raises his right arm to receive. The accompanying Latin inscription reads, "An angel gives a garment to John." The scene thus undoubtedly refers to the divine origin of John's clothes, but with drastic differences from the literary sources cited above. John is shown as an adult,^{14a} and he is already wearing the camel's-hair raiment, whereas the point of the apocryphal legends is that John was a child at the time and received his hair shirt, with heavenly aid, as a replacement for his "worldly" clothes. The literary tradition alone, therefore, is insufficient to explain the scene, but when we seek visual precedence in Byzantine art, we are at a loss to find a direct source. For I have discovered no earlier representations of the subject either with or without the contradictory features in the San Marco representation.

A possible solution to the problem is offered by another iconographical tradition in which the mature hermit is shown in the desert discoursing with an angel. The Vocation of John, or the Annunciation of John's Public Mission, illustrates the passage, "... the word of God came unto John . . . in the wilderness" (Luke 3:2).¹⁴ An example especially close to the San Marco

11. The *Vite de' Santi Padri* forms the first three volumes of *Volgarizzamento delle vite de' Santi Padri* (Biblioteca scelta di opere italiane, antiche e moderne), 6th ed., Milan, 1830, CCXLI-CCXLVI. The original editor, D. M. Manni (Florence, 1731-1735) doubted the traditional attribution of the *Vite* to Feo Belcari; in the second edition (Florence, 1774) the attribution to Cavalca was made, but it was ignored in the third edition (Cesari, Florence, 1799); the attribution to Cavalca was made again in the Modena edition (1827), etc.

12. This series forms the last three volumes of the sixth edition, under the title "Vite di alcuni santi scritte nel buon secolo della lingua toscana"; "La Vita di San Giovanni Battista," appears in IV, pp. 259-369, with Manni's introductory notes, p. x, where he mentions the only previous printed edition known to him, a brief redaction without date or location, which he judged to be from about 1500. The *Vita* was dealt with at length by the Florentine grammarian Lionardo Salviati (1540-1589). In his *Degli Avvertimenti della lingua sopra il Decamerone* (1st ed., Florence, 1584-1586) Naples, 1712, II, pp. 95ff., he dates it 1300-1310 on the basis of language structure. The manuscript that Salviati knew, then in the possession of his compatriot and friend Pier di Simon del Nero, he attributed to a Pisan scribe around 1360-1370. Modern mention of the text is made by N. Sapegno, *Il Trecento* (Storia letteraria d'Italia), 3rd ed., Milan, 1934, p. 544; G. Battelli, *Le più belle leggende cristiane, tratte da codici e da antiche stampe*, Milan, 1925, pp. 14-47, transcribes excerpts of the story from the original Manni edition, III, pp. 185ff.

Battelli notes (p. 50) the widespread influence of the legend on art and literature.

13. MAL, n. 27.

13a. More precisely, a young adult, for although bearded and emaciated, he has dark hair, while in the later scenes of the mosaic (as in St. John Preaching, Fig. 2, right) he has noticeably grayed.

14. Cf. Sdrakas, *op.cit.*, pp. 25f.; Masseron, *op.cit.*, p. 37, and pp. 75ff. The former points out that this form of the scene was only one type of visualization of the rather ambiguous passage. Examples of John conversing with an angel are: 1) frescoes of Cappadocia: i) Church of Qeledjlar, early 10th cent. or later, John kneeling in a grotto before an angel holding a scepter (G. de Jerphanion, *Les Églises rupestres*, I, 1, pp. 205, 216-7, pl. 48/1); ii) Göreme, Old Church, Tokali Kilisse, 10th cent., or later, John seeming to come out of grotto where he and Elizabeth were hiding, greets angel flying toward him (*ibid.*, I, 1, p. 274, pl. 65/1) Fig. 1, right of cave); iii) Göreme, New Church, Tokali Kilisse, 10th cent. or later, John stands to right of scepter-bearing angel (*ibid.*, I, 2, p. 333, pl. 77/1); iv) environs of Sinassos, church of the Holy Apostles, 10th cent. or later, as at Qeledjlar (*ibid.*, II, 1, p. 69); v) Belli Kilisse (Le Petit Cône), 10th cent. or later, as at Qeledjlar (*ibid.*, II, 1, p. 281, pl. 182/2); 2) miniature, Paris, gr. 74, fol. 110v, 11th cent., angel pointing way from right to left to mature John (Omout, *Évan. byz. du XIe siècle*, II, pl. 98[2]); 3) miniature, Brit. Mus. Add. 39627, fol. 145r, 1356, Bulgarian, same as Paris gr. 74

mosaic is the image in the Old Church of Tokali Kilisse, Cappadocia (Fig. 1, immediately to the right of the cave where Elizabeth and John are hiding), where the scepter-bearing angel speaks to John from above with one arm extended toward him. Still, such scenes, while providing visual precedence for the mature, camel's-hair-clad hermit conversing with an angel, have nothing to do with the delivery of clothes. Could it be that the Venetian mosaicist was given only the text as it appears inscribed above the scene, making no mention of John's age or the nature of the garment? In that case, he quite reasonably adopted what was apparently the one available visual type in which an angel brings something (a message) to John, merely introducing into it the garment called for by the inscription. Furthermore he made this garment, since John already wore the hair shirt, the cloth stole commonly seen draped about the Baptist's shoulders in late mediaeval representations (and which he wears in this manner in the scenes that follow in the Baptistry, Fig. 1, right).

The scene of John Receiving a Garment from an Angel in the San Marco Baptistry, not surprisingly, had very few followers. There are two early fifteenth century Italian examples, however, that seem directly related to the mosaic. These are both frescoes in the Veneto, dating between 1419-1425. One is on a spandrel in the Cathedral of Pordenone (Fig. 5), the other is in a niche in the Baptistry of Treviso (Fig. 6).¹⁵ In both, St. John is shown in a wilderness setting, holding a scroll in his raised right hand. He lifts his eyes to an angel who flies above and spreads a cloak over him from behind. (Because of the condition of the frescoes it is difficult to determine the material of the garments.) They thus represent the same incident as the San Marco mosaic, but again there are drastic differences. In the two Early Renaissance examples, John is not the bearded ascetic of tradition but a muscular young man. And he does not wear the camel's-hair tunic; he is almost completely nude, wearing only a loin cloth in the Pordenone example and draped below the groin in the Treviso fresco. The comparative youth of these two figures may be an attempt to compromise

between the haggard mature figure in the San Marco mosaic and the infant of the literary accounts. The nudity, while certainly reflecting the growing Renaissance interest in the human body, also emphatically resolves the sartorial conflict of the San Marco mosaic. The presence of only one angel in these frescoes keeps them within the visual tradition of the Vocation of St. John and therefore the San Marco mosaic, and makes it unlikely that they were directly influenced by the fourteenth century Tuscan *Vita* where the plural form "angeli," is specifically used.¹⁶

Now let us return to the Veneziano predella (Fig. 4) and take stock. We find that, like the Veneto examples, John is in a wilderness setting, elaborated to include ranges of mountains and a stream of water cascading down the right side of the composition.¹⁷ As in them, he is depicted nude, in a frontal pose raising his right hand, but here his age is further reduced to that of an adolescent, and his gesture is motivated by the action of donning his camel's-hair raiment, having just removed his "worldly" clothes. Furthermore, there is a notable absence of angelic assistance; John is alone in the wilderness. The Veneziano predella thus represents a complete break with the representation in the San Marco Baptistry. At the same time, while the figure's nudity indicates a definite relationship to the Veneto fresco examples, he is also differentiated from them by the fact that he is still younger. And while the predella does contain most of the narrative details of the fourteenth century *Vita*, it has the significant omission of dual angels. We may therefore still ask if they are separated by some intermediary link?

This intervening step is neatly supplied by a fragmentary fresco, often overlooked, in the Baptistry of Castiglione d'Olona. Mr. Hellmut Wohl, who acquainted me with the fresco, has recently brought renewed interest to it and the problem of its attribution, stating the belief that it is partially by Veneziano himself.¹⁸ Although today it is almost totally unreadable (Fig. 7), one can recognize the basic constituents of the composition (located in the register above the *Preaching of St. John*). A nude youth stands in the center of

(Filov, *Les min. de Pévan. du roi Jean Alex.*, pl. 72); 4) fresco, Trapeza, Monastery of Dionysiou, Mt. Athos, 1547-1603, angel flying above John surrounded by crowd (Millet, *Mon. Athos*, I, pl. 212/3; G. Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'évangile*, Paris, 1916, p. 200, comments that this is a mixture of Luke 3:2 and regular scene of St. John preaching).

15. L. Coletti, "Pittura veneta dal Tre al Quattrocento," *Arte veneta*, I, 1947, pp. 352ff., figs. 216, 217, attributes them to the "cerchia del Pisanello." Coletti considers the Pordenone figure to be St. John the Baptist, corresponding to a nearby figure of the penitent Magdalen; other authorities he cites believe the pair to represent Adam and Eve. The drapery-bearing angel would seem to be the decisive factor in favor of St. John. These examples were brought to my attention by Hellmut Wohl who considers their iconography to be directly dependent on the 14th century *Vita*; *Domenico Veneziano Studier*, diss. (unpublished), New York University, Institute of Fine Arts, 1958, II, pp. 337f.

16. Both Coletti and Wohl (*ibid.*) point out the striking

compositional and figural similarity between the frescoes and the panel of "St. Benedict in Penitence" in the Museo Poldi Pezzoli, Milan. For a review of the much debated attribution of this painting, see the catalogue of the exhibition *Da Altichiero a Pisanello*, Museo di Castelvecchio, Verona, ed. L. Magagnato, Venice, 1958, pp. 81-83, no. 90, pl. LXXXVIII.

17. This detail, symbolizing the river Jordan, continues Andrea Pisano's innovation which in turn depends on the 14th century *Vita* (MAL, fig. 6, and p. 88).

18. Wohl, *op.cit.*, pp. 309ff., esp. 330f.; Mr. Wohl presented a summary of this material at the meeting of the College Art Association in Washington, D.C., Jan. 28, 1958. The frescoes of the Baptistry are generally believed to have been completed about 1435. The ruined scene was noted by A. Schmarsow, *Masaccio Studier*, Kassel, 1895, p. 50; reproduced but not discussed by P. Toesca, *Masolino di Panicale*, Bergamo, 1908 pl. 99b; and discussed but misinterpreted iconographically by H. Lindberg, *To the Problem of Masolino and Masaccio*, Stockholm, 1931, p. 103, pl. 24.

what seems to be a mountainous desert. At his feet to the right lies a folded garment which the boy has apparently just removed. One angel stands at his left and holds the camel's-skin raiment, helping him on with it. A second angel appears at the left. This scene, like the earlier Bern predella (Fig. 3), is an exact illustration of the passage in the *Vita* quoted above, showing John as a very young boy in a wilderness setting assisted by two angels. The important difference from the Bern panel is, of course, that in the fresco John is a frontal nude. The Castiglione d'Olona image thus includes north Italian as well as Tuscan features. If the figure is indeed by Veneziano, we may assume that he had seen the Veneto frescoes before coming to Florence. When called upon to provide the figure for Masolino's narrative scene, Veneziano retained the frontal nude form while adjusting John's age to fulfill the requirements of the story as told in the *Vita*.

In any case, Veneziano employed the same frontal nude type for the *Giovannino* in his St. Lucy predella. Mr. Wohl has pointed out the striking similarities between the two figures; except for slight differences in the position of the head and arms, the figures are identical. But as we have noted, in the predella the content of the scene is changed; the angels are no longer present. By this deletion, Veneziano removed the emphasis from the miraculous circumstances of the narrative and laid full stress on the significance of John's action, namely his conscious assumption of the penitential life. Such a shift of emphasis from story-telling to spiritual content is wholly consistent with the Florentine development of St. John iconography that culminated in Donatello's *Giovannino Martelli*.¹⁹

The Castiglione d'Olona figure may have served as visual precedent for still another important representation of the Infant St. John. In the *Adoration of the Child*, by Fra Filippo Lippi, 1459 (Fig. 8), discussed at length in my previous study,²⁰ where the whole painting is reproduced, John stands at the left of the composition pointing at the Madonna and Child

with his left hand (in which he holds his cross and scroll). His right arm is bent at the elbow, the hand gesturing in a manner difficult to interpret (the fingers are drawn together and pressed against the thumb). Although here John is clothed, I find a remarkable resemblance between this figure and the one in the Castiglione d'Olona fragment: both stand in a *contrapposto* position with the weight on the right leg and the left leg free (Fra Filippo's is more bent at the knee); both are frontal, looking directly at the spectator; the heads are very similarly shaped with broad circular outlines; and both figures bend their right elbows and raise their right hands to their breasts. On the basis of such a relationship, the mystifying gesture of the right hand of Fra Filippo's St. John can be explained, for it repeats the gesture of the earlier figure, having lost, however, the precise function of donning clothes.

I have shown that the presence of the Infant St. John in Fra Filippo's altarpiece was related to the donor Lucrezia Tornabuoni's deep interest in the Saint and in the legends of his childhood. This was witnessed by her own poem about St. John, a portion of which I published.²¹ Now I would like to suggest that besides direct knowledge of the fourteenth century *Vita*, Lucrezia probably also knew and used as a source a contemporary play, "La Rappresentazione quando San Giovanni fu visitato nel deserto da Cristo," by Feo Belcari (1410-1484).²² The action of Belcari's little drama is very simple, comprised merely of the entrance of the Holy Family to greet John on stage, their conversation and departure. The incident corresponds to the legendary Meeting of Jesus and John on Jesus' return from Egypt with Mary and Joseph, and the Repose after the Meeting. The bulk of the dialogue is given over to the teaching and prophecy of Jesus which equip John for his penitential life.²³ It is obvious that Belcari found his inspiration in the fourteenth century *Vita*, since every detail of the action and whole sections of dialogue are taken directly from it.²⁴ When we

19. MAL, fig. 16, pp. 91f. While the more progressive tendency was to abstract particular scenes from the narrative of St. John's life and to invest them with symbolic meaning, straight narrative scenes based on the legend continued to appear through the 15th and early 16th centuries, for example: Piero di Cosimo, *Madonna Enthroned with Saints*, center predella, Meeting of Jesus and John in the Desert, 1490's, City Art Museum of St. Louis (P. T. Rathbone, "The Madonna Enthroned with Saints," by Piero di Cosimo," *Bulletin of the City Art Museum of St. Louis*, Oct. 1940, pp. 42-47); Franciabigio, frescoes in the Chiostrò dello Scalzo, Florence, Zachariah blessing John before his Departure for the Desert, and the Meeting of Jesus and John in the Desert, ca. 1515 (J. A. Crowe and G. B. Cavalcaselle, *A History of Painting in Italy*, T. Borenius, ed., London, 1914, VI, ill. pp. 130-31).

20. MAL, pp. 92ff., where I failed to note Mr. Frederick Hartt's interest in the iconography of the Berlin and Uffizi versions of the painting. Mr. Hartt developed a number of ideas concerning the meaning of the two pictures as early as 1936, and more recently unearthed additional iconographic evidence, which he promises to publish before too long.

21. MAL, appendix, pp. 100-101.

22. Galetti ed., late 15th century, reprinted in *Sacre rappre-*

sentazioni e laude, intro. and notes by O. Allocco-Castellino, *Collezione di classici italiani*, Turin, 1926, XIII, pp. 33-51. The play was frequently published from the late 15th century on; cf. P. Colomb de Batines, *Bibliografia delle antiche rappresentazioni italiane, sacre e profane, stampate nei secoli XV e XVI*, Milan, 1852 (reprint, Milan, 1958), pp. 10-11. It is well-known that Belcari, who did many prose translations and adaptations of 14th century Latin legends, was an intimate of the Medici household (cf. V. Rossi, *Il Quattrocento* [Storia Letteraria d'Italia], Milan, 1933, pp. 193ff.).

23. Belcari's choice of expounding the meaning of the Meeting of the Holy Children, rather than telling the story of it, is part of the same trend we noticed in contemporary Florentine art; cf. MAL, pp. 90-91 and 96-97.

24. Allocco-Castellino makes this point (*op.cit.*, p. 33); he also states that the 14th century *Vita*, because of these similarities, was for a long time attributed to Belcari (as well as to Cavalcaselle). To Belcari's play were added sixteen stanzas by Tommaso Benci; they describe John's leave-taking from his parents and are also based on the 14th century *Vita*. The date of Benci's death (1470) is usually taken as the *terminus ante quem* for the play; however, Allocco-Castellino believes it was written before 1449, the year in which Belcari's more

further compare Lucrezia's own poem with Belcari's play, a relationship is equally evident.²⁵ Belcari may even have introduced the *Vita* to Lucrezia; she then could easily have made both the *Vita* and Belcari's play available to Fra Filippo for his work on the Medici Chapel altarpiece.

It was precisely in the Medici altarpiece that the figure of the Infant St. John, as I have shown, was established as a symbol of Baptism, a symbol frequently used through the second half of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.²⁶ I have also shown that late in the fifteenth century this symbolism was extended so that not only did *Giovannino* enact the gestures of his future mission of Baptism, but he also participated in the foreknowledge of Christ's Passion.²⁷

In connection with this Passion symbolism, I would like to introduce here what is perhaps the strangest painting in the entire sequence of *Giovannino Battista* iconography, a little-discussed work by Rosso Fiorentino, the large panel of the *Madonna and Child with St. Anne and the Young St. John* in the Los Angeles County Museum (Fig. 9).²⁸

To the right, the Madonna kneels with the naked Child in her arms. He turns nervously toward her, clinging to her and grasping at her clothing. He is apparently frightened by the old woman seated to the left. The old woman leans forward tensely speaking to the Madonna and Child and extending her left hand between them as if to separate them. Her right arm, bent at the elbow, rests on a book. Hovering close above the group are two massive angels locked in each other's arms, sharing one pair of wings. Their faces express extreme anguish. Below the old woman lies a second

nude boy, somewhat older than the first, reclining uncomfortably with his head fallen back and his face contorted. The old woman steps down between his legs with her left foot; the right foot of the younger child rests on hers.

Basically this is an image of the Madonna and Child into which prefigurations of the Passion have been infused. The whole scene, though no more than an underpainting, is pervaded by a tense uneasiness and feeling of impending doom. But we may well ask what exactly is taking place; who is the old hag intoning a message of fright to the Child? Who is the swooning youth at her feet? Is he writhing in a nightmare-filled sleep, or has he perhaps already suffered a painful death?

When seeking precedence for such a scene, one's thoughts must inevitably turn first to Leonardo's composition of the *Virgin and St. Anne*. In the early stages of that composition, in the Burlington House cartoon, Leonardo combined for the first time the themes of St. Anne, vessel of the Immaculate Conception, and the Infant St. John, symbol of the Baptism. It is essentially this combination of elements that Rosso has employed, but obviously the differences in mood and meaning are greater than any similarities.

We must remember next, that in the studies antedating the Burlington House cartoon and in the final painting, Leonardo actually replaced the figure of *Giovannino* (with its then newly acquired Passion symbolism) by the traditional symbol of the Passion, the sacrificial lamb. A contemporary interpretation of the composition reads: "St. Anne . . . seems as if she would hold back her daughter, so that she would not

famous "Abraham and Isaac" was first performed. The latter play was dedicated to Giovanni de' Medici, Lucrezia Tornabuoni's brother-in-law (cf. Rossi, *op.cit.*, p. 193).

25. Allocco-Castellino claims (*loc.cit.*) that no direct connection between "La Rappresentazione quando San Giovanni fu visitato nel deserto da Cristo" and the Medici can be cited. However, the colophon of the very edition he reproduces includes the following: "composta per Feo Belcari, e mandato al magnifico uomo, Giovanni di Cosimo de' Medici."

26. In addition to the examples cited in MAL (pp. 96-98), a very explicit instance is the *Madonna della Catina* by Giulio Romano, late 1520's, Gemäldegalerie, Dresden. The Christ Child stands in a shallow pan held by Mary into which the Infant Baptist pours water from a jug (F. Hartt, *Giulio Romano*, New Haven, 1958, I, p. 84; II, fig. 125).

27. MAL, pp. 99-100, and n. 84. I cite only two of the many additional examples: A *tondo* attributed to the school of Cosimo Rosselli, formerly Lyons, Aynard Collection (B. Berenson, *Three Essays in Method*, Oxford, 1927, fig. 106), shows Mary praying over the Christ Child who reclines on the rim of a sarcophagus while John adores at the right. A *Madonna and Child with the Infant St. John* by an early sixteenth century Lombard painter, Samuel H. Kress Study Collection, University of Kansas, shows Christ on Mary's lap leaning down to finger St. John's reed cross. Cf. "Catalogue of the Samuel H. Kress Collection at the University of Kansas," *The Register of the Museum of Art*, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas, II, 4, 1960, pp. 25-26, ill. p. 27, where it is noted that the thick growth of ivy to the left symbolizes death and immortality, and the wreath of evergreens that St.

John wears identifies him with Christ through the reference to the Song of Solomon (5:15). I am indebted to Prof. H. W. Janson for calling my attention to this painting.

28. A. 6488, 54-2; 63½" x 46", oil on panel, unfinished. Nothing apparently is known of the painting's early history. In 1931 it was in the possession of E. Remak of Berlin, who bought it on the advice of Dr. F. Antal; cf. K. Kusenber, *Rosso Fiorentino*, Strassburg, 1931, p. 29, where it is reported that Antal dated the panel "a few years before the Volterra Deposition," (1521). P. Barocchi, *Il Rosso Fiorentino*, Rome, 1950, p. 249, who never saw the painting, lists it as an attributed work. In his review of Barocchi's book, R. Longhi (*Paragone*, 13, 1951, pp. 61-62) mentions that he had known the painting before the Remak purchase when it was in a small Roman collection under the name of Michelangelo. He reaffirms the attribution to Rosso and suggests the title "La Sacra Famiglia all'Inferno." He reproduces it for the first time (pl. 31). By the time of Longhi's review the painting, along with the rest of the Remak collection was in Buenos Aires. A brief reference to the panel is found in G. Briganti, "Una Madonna del Rosso," *Paragone*, 43, 1953, p. 51. It was given to the Los Angeles County Museum by Dr. and Mrs. Herbert T. Kalmus in 1954; W. R. Valentiner, "An Unfinished Altarpiece by Rosso Fiorentino," *Los Angeles County Museum Bulletin*, VI, 3, 1954, pp. 3-6. See also the catalogue of the *Mostra del Pontormo e del primo manierismo fiorentino*, Florence, 1956, p. 122, no. 153, pl. LXXIV, and the review by D. Sanminiatielli, "The Pontormo Exhibition in Florence," *Burlington Magazine*, 98, 1956, p. 241.

separate the child from the lamb, which perhaps signifies that the church did not wish to prevent the Passion of Christ.²⁹ Thus it was again on the precedence of Leonardo that Rosso combined the *Anna Selbdritt* with the prefiguration of the Passion, although (if the reclining youth is John) he retained the more "modern" form of symbolism for the latter.³⁰

These associations alone, however, are not satisfactory as an explanation of Rosso's specific meaning. Again we must ask who is the old woman? I have no doubt that she is, on the first level, St. Anne, mother of the Virgin Mary, whose conception was without sin.³¹ But she is far from the young and sympathetic woman depicted by Leonardo. So desiccated and spidery is she that one feels when Rosso had finished with her she would have been thoroughly terrifying. As it is, she resembles most of all, with her book and verbal exhortations, contemporary representations of sibyl³² or prophetess. In this guise she calls to mind another holy woman named Anne, or Anna, mentioned by St. Luke (2:36-38) and the Pseudo-Matthew.³³ Anna the Prophetess was an aged widow living in the Temple for many years when the Infant Jesus was brought for the Presentation. The moment Anna beheld the Child she recognized his divinity and prophesied, "In Him is the redemption of the world." In mediaeval and Renaissance art, Anna is shown in scenes of the Presen-

tation either speaking her prophecy, one hand raised, or holding it in writing.³⁴ I strongly suspect that Rosso intended us to read this figure as both St. Annes, and by putting Anna's prophecy of redemption through the death of Christ into the mouth of Anne, the Virgin's mother, he gives us the key to the painting's agitated, almost hysterical atmosphere.

But in this context what is the meaning of the nude youth lying so painfully at the base of the group? It has been suggested that the figure of the older child is Adam whom Christ, the New Adam, replaced by his coming.³⁵ The youth's position in relation to the figure of Christ does indeed recall the Byzantine type which represents Adam lying prone at the foot of the cross as a symbol of Original Sin redeemed through the sacrifice of Christ,³⁶ and there can be no doubt that a reference to Adam here is intentional. But that he is only Adam does not seem possible. Adam, after all, was created full-grown; he was the only man in history never to have been a child or a youth. Furthermore, in view of the current Florentine Giovannino iconography (and in spite of the fact that this figure lacks John's traditional attributes) we are forced to recognize him also as the young St. John. What we have, then, is another case of double identity. Just as the figure of St. Anne is overlaid with references to Anna the Prophetess, so the figure of Giovannino is

29. Fra Pietro da Novellara in a letter to Isabella d'Este, 1501, describing a cartoon (now lost) of an intermediate stage in the development of the composition; K. Clark, *Leonardo da Vinci*, New York, 1939, p. 110; cf. also MAL, pp. 99-100.

30. The Rosso altarpiece has many compositional features in common with the later phases of Leonardo's work. St. Anne is pictured as an aged hag once in Leonardo's studies, in the well-known Louvre Sketch (H. Bodmer, *Leonardo*, Klassiker der Kunst, Stuttgart-Berlin, 1931, XXXVII, p. 278). Rosso's figure retains from this drawing the device of the arm bent at the elbow to close the side of the composition. At the same time, the pose of the old woman's shoulder, neck, and head, and extended left arm are quite similar to the figure of the Virgin in the Louvre painting (Clark, *op.cit.*, pl. 50).

31. Longhi (*loc. cit.*) assumed the figure to be St. Elizabeth and Valentiner (*loc. cit.*) calls her St. Anne, but neither offered any explanation. I identify her as St. Anne, first because of the relationship to Leonardo's composition. Equally important is the fact that her action is concerned chiefly with the Madonna and Child, whereas in scenes of the Visit of St. John to the "presepio" which include St. Elizabeth she is usually occupied with presenting her own son (cf. MAL, pp. 97-98 and fig. 21).

32. Though in fact I believe the figure alludes to the Prophetess Anna, there is some literary evidence for a relationship between John the Baptist and a sibyl in the Renaissance. This is found in a remarkable letter from an emissary of the court of Mantua under the Marchese Francesco Gonzaga, one Signore Capiluppo, who wrote to his master while visiting the court of Urbino in 1488. Capiluppo reports on a celebration he had attended in Castel Durante (Urbania, a few miles from Urbino) in honor of Elisabetta Gonzaga, the Marchese's sister, and her husband Guidobaldo Montefeltro, son and heir of Duke Federigo. The letter, dated July 28, 1488, tells of a "representatione de la vita de S^{to} Zohanne Baptista," performed the day before (Sunday, July 27) to everyone's delight and enjoyment. Capiluppo apologizes for not sending a copy of the verse play itself which he has not yet been able to obtain. In its stead he writes a full description of the stage

set (*palco*) "cum collonne, cornise et coperto, facti de ligname lavorati et dipinti a l'antique." The set was arranged for a panorama of the life of St. John in chronological sequence from right to left. First came the house of Zachariah, those of his neighbors, and then that of the Virgin Mary. Next was the temple, then the desert. In the center King Herod was enthroned amid guards and councilors. Nearby the Queen and her daughter were enthroned. To their left was the prison. Capiluppo continues, "Poi li era una grotta dove ussita la Sibilla," and he goes on to describe the rest of the stage, which included place for costumed observers, angels on clouds, the Gates of Hell with a dragon, the Devil carrying John's head, dancers, etc. In most instances Capiluppo explains the functions of the various parts of the set, such as the temple serving for the Annunciation to Zachariah and the Circumcision, the desert where St. John "andò a fare penitentia" (unhappily without noting at what age). But when he tells of the sibyl he does not say what part she may have had in the story. However, because the grotto out of which she comes is located next to the prison where John was decapitated we might believe that her role was somehow related to the saint's death. The letter, from the Gonzaga archives in Mantua, is published by A. Luzio and R. Renier, *Mantova e Urbino, Isabella d'Este ed Elisabetta Gonzaga*, Rome-Turin, 1893, pp. 44-45.

33. *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, ed. A. Roberts and J. Donaldson, New York, 1925, VIII, p. 375, chap. 15.

34. Weitzmann (*Castelseprio*, pp. 62ff. and 74) discusses mediaeval representations of Anna the Prophetess; see also D. C. Shorr, "The Iconographic Development of the Presentation in the Temple," *ART BULLETIN*, XXVIII, 1946, pp. 17-32.

35. Professor Erwin Panofsky, *in litteris*.

36. An example is the 10th century ivory plaque in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (17.190.44); A. Goldschmidt and K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen elfenbeinskulpturen des X-XIII. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1934, II, p. 26, pl. 6/2; the iconography is discussed by E. Rupin, *L'Oeuvre de Limoges*, Paris, 1890, pp. 265-266.

combined with an allusion to the dead Adam. Both cases are glaring statements of the theme of Rosso's altarpiece, Redemption.³⁷

There is, however, yet another level of significance in the swooning pose of the Giovannino figure. And to find it we must return once more to the fourteenth century *Vita di San Giovanni Battista*, the same legend that proved so rich a source throughout the history of our subject. At the end of the conversation between the Holy Children during the Repose, at the very moment Jesus finishes revealing the details and meaning of the Passion, the following passage is found: "(John then experienced) tanto dolore e . . . sì gran compassione al Signore che, se non fosse che Iddio il teneva, sarebbe caduto morto a' piedi di Messer Giesù. . . ." The author here cautiously uses the conditional "sarebbe"; elsewhere in the text he is careful to say that John, in his penitence, put himself through every torture of the Passion "salvochè quella della morte."³⁸ Rosso has no such reservations. His Giovannino actually falls at the feet of Jesus upon hearing the dire words of prophecy.³⁹ It is as though Rosso has taken the last excruciating step, the step no other artist or writer dared,⁴⁰ and has given the young St. John the full burden of being Christ's precursor in death, as well as in life.⁴¹

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37. In creating this John-Adam figure Rosso was, as far as I have been able to discover, acting entirely without precedence. A few years later Andrea Previtali associated, but did not identify, St. John with Adam in his *Allegory of Redemption*, ca. 1528, Venice Academy (S. Esche, *Adam und Eva, Sündenfall und Erlösung*, Düsseldorf, 1957, fig. 42). Adam and Eve are seen to the left in prayer and again in the center walking forward to meet St. John (in his mature form) who points their way to redemption.

The only representation I have come across in which St. John and the Prophetess Anna appear together is in the *Cosmas Indicleustes*, Vat. gr. 699, fol. 76r. St. Anna and St. Simeon are shown as busts above an alignment of (from left to right) Christ, Mary, John the Baptist, Elizabeth, and Zachariah. The miniature illustrates cols. 276,d,11-280,c,2, of the text where the prophecies of all seven holy personages are enumerated (cf. C. Stornajolo, *Le miniature della topografia cristiana di Cosma Indicleuste*, Milan, 1908, p. 42, no. 41, pl. fol. 76r and frontispiece in color).

38. *Volgarizzamento delle vite* . . . , IV., p. 306, and pp. 298-99; cf. also MAL, n. 85.

39. The arrangement of feet at the bottom of the composition, Jesus' on St. Anne's above John's, is indeed intriguing. One thinks ahead to Caravaggio's *Madonna del Serpe* (1605) where the Christ Child stands on Mary's foot crushing the serpent of sin and heresy, in the presence of an equally old and prophetess-like St. Anne. But the theological compromise illustrated by the 17th century painting (cf. W. Friedlaender, *Caravaggio Studies*, Princeton, 1955, no. 27, p. 191, pl. 37) cannot apply in the case of the Los Angeles altarpiece. I suspect it is Rosso's personal puzzle, perhaps meant to signify that although Jesus turns in fright from the prediction of Anne, he knows its truth and relates himself to her, transferring or better transfusing this relation through the feet to John.

The remaining elements of the painting, namely the interlocked angels, may perhaps be identified as Uriel and Raphael, the two archangels who, according to the ancient legends, protected the Holy Children at various times (MAL, p. 87 n. 7). Furthermore, they prefigure another composition by Cara-

GIAN BATTISTA MARINO'S CONTRIBUTION TO SEICENTO ART THEORY

GERALD ACKERMAN

When Nicolas Poussin, already an old man, conversed with his biographer Giovanni Bellori in Rome, he remembered and talked of Giovanni Battista Marino (the famous Italian poet, 1569-1625) with a respect and an affection that remain evident even through Bellori's reporting.¹ In 1623, Marino had noticed unusual talent in the decorations of a Parisian festival; he sought out the artist, and discovered the struggling young Poussin. The poet praised him, encouraged him, took him into his home, where Poussin entertained him, when he was consigned to bed by illness, with conversations and drawings. When Marino left Paris, he urged Poussin to follow him to Rome, where the poet, despite his failing health, helped the young painter as much as he could.² After the poet's death, Poussin honored his friend and helper by painting his arrival on Parnassus in the famous painting in the Prado, *The Apotheosis of the Poet*. As the laureate wreath is awarded him, Marino kneels before Apollo, holding in each hand one of his epics, while the obvious symbols of his two lyrical publications *La Sampogna* (The Panpipe) and *La Lira* (The Lyre, here a viol)

vaggio; in the *Seven Works of Mercy* (1607; Friedlaender, *op.cit.*, no. 34, pp. 207ff., pl. 49), two embracing angels bend over the cloud bank that supports the Madonna and, like Rosso's angels, participate actively in the emotional tenor of the scene.

40. In spite of the fact that Rosso's altarpiece was left unfinished it apparently did have progeny (although because of problems of attribution and dating of the other works, it is difficult to prove historical precedence). A so-called Andrea del Sarto in the Verona Gallery (Fig. 10) shows St. John lying at the foot of a group of the Madonna and Child with St. Anne, and has many compositional elements and motifs strikingly similar to the Rosso. The Infant Baptist is seen again lying before the Madonna and Child in paintings by Franciabigio in the Uffizi, and by Bugiardini in the Hermitage (A. Venturi, *Storia*, IX, figs. 322 and 306). In all these cases, however, Rosso's disturbing anxiety and ambiguous imagery are absent, for Giovannino, once more in possession of his traditional attributes, sleeps a sleep of comfort and innocence.

41. It should be noted that St. John's pose here is a mirror-image of the one used by Rosso for the dead body of Christ in his *Volterra Deposition* (Barocchi, *op.cit.*, pl. 11).

1. This paper is an expansion of a report for Dr. Erwin Panofsky in a seminar at Princeton University in the spring of 1959. I am indebted to Dr. Panofsky for both encouragement and help. Some of the conclusions of the paper were presented at a Symposium on the History of Art held by the New York University Institute of Fine Arts and the Frick Collection in April of 1960.

2. G. P. Bellori, *Le Vite dei pittori, scultori ed architetti moderni*, Rome, 1672, pp. 410f. The artistic relationship between Poussin and Marino is discussed by Jane Costello, "Poussin's Drawings for Marino and the New Classicism," *Warburg and Courtauld Journal*, XVIII, 1955, pp. 296-317. Walter Friedländer in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XXXVII, 1914, pp. 230-235, discusses and evaluates the immoderate conclusions of Andrea Moschetti in "Dell'Influsso del Marino sulla formazione artistica di Nicola Poussin," *Atti*

are held near him, one by Calliope behind him, the other by a flying putto.³

Those only superficially acquainted with Marino's fabulous career, or frightened away by the fatuity and pomposity of his poetical works, find this friendship hard to understand. How could this superficial versifier, this man known as "The Pope of Mannerism," a pornographer and adventurer, allegedly a pervert and certainly a fop, known indeed as everything except "poet," how could he have gained not only the gratitude but the respect and affection of that classic representative of morality and virtue, Nicolas Poussin?

I. MARINO'S CAREER AND REPUTATION

Giovan Battista Marino was born in 1569, the son of a middle class Neapolitan lawyer.⁴ After an appropriate schooling he began the study of law, but following his natural bent was soon frequenting literary salons more than law courts. He acquired a literary and amorous reputation, and debts. His impatient father threw him out of the house at twenty, but his talent and ability supported him as a literary secretary for a series of noble protectors. Among the notables in Naples at the time, the elderly Torquato Tasso recognized his talent and encouraged him, and the young Caravaggio befriended him, and probably painted his portrait.⁵

In 1598 he was imprisoned for "immorality"; the precise nature of the accusation is impossible to discern through the gleeful calumnies of his enemies and the bland whitewash of his champions.⁶ The charge was not very precisely defined even in his own day, evidently, for after four months it was dropped because of insufficient evidence. Upon his release he returned to his courtly literary life.

In 1600 a young nobleman friend fatally wounded a citizen in a street brawl. Marino, to stay the quickly ordered execution of his friend, bravely appeared in

court with forged documents, which, if accepted, would have made the case a matter for another, more lenient court.⁷ The brazen ruse failed, and Marino in turn was imprisoned. This stratagem, though prompted by an admirable loyalty, was a very serious crime; and Marino's friends arranged his escape to Rome, lest two heads roll.

His bravery in defending and his generosity in supporting his friends, though a constant and laudable trait of Marino, is, of course, not mentioned by his enemies and detractors. His pompous champions on the other hand praised him not for his character, but for his poetic virtuosity; and his literary talent is precisely the virtue which the egoist publicized for himself.

In Rome he frequented (and lived off) many eminent courts and households. Two volumes of verse, *Le Rime* (Venice, 1602) brought him such fame that he became a prized and pensioned addition to the extravagant and brilliant court of Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini. Maggiordomo to the Cardinal at that time was Monsignore Giovan Battista Agucchi.⁸ Agucchi and Marino, both patrons and theoreticians of art, and true amateurs, undoubtedly met, though they did not necessarily become friends. Agucchi's careful and philosophical considerations do not seem consonant with Marino's flashy conceits, but we should never underestimate the courtier poet's social ability.

Pope Clement VIII, uncle and benefactor to Cardinal Aldobrandini, died in 1605, and the new Borghese Pope, Paul V, at once reminded the young Cardinal of the residential duty attached to the living he had acquired, the See of Ravenna. As a precaution against boredom—the social life in Ravenna had been on the decline for roughly a thousand years—Cardinal Aldobrandini took with him from Rome a household of some 400, including our Marino.⁹ Even so, the former capital of the Empire was scarcely tolerable, and the Pope was obliged once again to remind the Cardinal of

del X Congresso internazionale di Storia dell'Arte in Roma, Rome, 1922, pp. 356-384 (the X Congresso was held in 1912).

3. This identification of the rewarded poet, long thought to be Homer, is proposed by Erwin Panofsky, *A Mythological Painting by Poussin in the National Museum at Stockholm*, (Nationalmuseum Skriftserie Nr. 5), Stockholm, 1960, pp. 51ff.

4. All the important biographies of Marino are in Italian. There were at least nine published within a century after his death. They are listed on pp. 5-6 of A. Borzelli's *Storia della vita e delle opere di Giovan Battista Marino*, Naples (2nd ed. 1927). Borzelli's biography, along with the letters (Marino, *Epistolario*, Bari, 1, 1911; II, 1912) which Borzelli edited with F. Nicolini, are the best sources of information about the poet. Nicolini also did the judicious Marino article in the *Enciclopedia italiana*. Borzelli's book, though gossipy in a good Neapolitan tradition, is backed by invaluable, if not always indicated, archival work, and enlivened by a true feeling of intimacy with the era.

5. Bellori (*Vite*, p. 205) mentions this portrait in his life of Caravaggio. But since he neither locates it nor describes it, he may be relying for his information upon Marino's sonnet "Sopra il proprio ritratto dell'autore di Mano di Michelangelo da Caravaggio," in *La Galleria* (Venice, 1622, p. 240). Such a sonnet does not mean that the portrait actually existed (see p. 334).

6. The charge was homosexuality, according to some contemporary enemies; or, according to his 19th century biographers, for necessitating and arranging for a fatal abortion. Borzelli (*Marino*, pp. 38-45) relates both allegations with equal relish and detail. The pederast charge, though repeated constantly throughout Marino's life, seems to be, along with the epitaph "heretic," simply an integral part of any good Seicento invective, rather than an accurate characterization of our poet.

7. He had forged a *Bolla di Chiericato*, declaring the arraigned to be a cleric, and often obtained *post factum*. This, if accepted, would have made the case the concern of the ecclesiastical courts.

8. For information about the court of Cardinal Aldobrandini see Ludwig Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste*, XI, Freiburg, 1928, pp. 39ff. On Agucchi see Denis Mahon, *Studies in Seicento Art and Theory*, London, 1947, pp. 111-154; and Erwin Panofsky, *Galileo as a Critic of the Arts*, The Hague, 1954, p. 38.

9. Monsignore Agucchi however remained in Rome, and, presumably during a period of semi-retirement until the Cardinal returned there in 1615, wrote his *Trattato*, formulating the academic theory of art some fifty years before the publicizing of it by Bellori in 1664. See Mahon, *op.cit.*, who discovered and published a fragment of this lost treatise.

his duty when he tried to move his household to Turin. Marino, however, was more fortunate; keeping his pension with the Cardinal, he travelled extensively throughout northern Italy (1606-1609), and finally managed to attach himself to the very powerful Duke of Savoy, Carl Emmanuel I.¹⁰

Even before accepting residence and a pension at the court in Turin, Marino had won the enmity of the fifth-rate Savoyard court poet, Gaspare Murtola, and a famous literary feud ensued. Whereas Murtola's printed sallies at Marino were malicious and inept, Marino's jibes at Murtola were very literary satires of brilliant and still appreciable wit. Finally Marino concentrated upon poetically flattering his protector the Duke rather than defaming his adversary. As a result, Murtola was dismissed from his position and Marino was knighted by the Duke in the Savoyard order of SS. Mauritius and Lazarus.

Displaced at court and ridiculed throughout the land in Marino's hilarious satire of his ponderous epic on the Creation,¹¹ the now desperate Murtola tried to assassinate Marino. In a city square of Turin he fired six shots at the stunned Neapolitan, missing him but wounding a companion. Being attacked in the street was not so common a Renaissance experience as reading Cellini might lead us to think, and a letter of Marino describing the attack conveys convincingly the shock of the attack.¹² His inept enemy was quickly caught, tried, and condemned to death.

Marino's essential good nature (and his enticing roguishness) is sensed in his letter to the Duke of Savoy in which he tries to explain the origins of the quarrel, and asks for pardon for Murtola, an intercession which might be considered the result of bad conscience as well as of generosity. After describing his failure to get along with Murtola at their very first meeting, Marino explains how he successfully avoided any further personal contact with the court poet for some time, until "Ciotti, the Venetian publisher, wrote me that a certain fellow [Murtola] had appeared in Venice to talk him into publishing a certain poem; and because he wanted my opinion about the chances of the poem's success, he wrote and asked me whether I thought he should invest any money in the publishing cost. I, following the unique liberty of my talent, replied to him just what I've always said about this poem: its components were rusty, without style or learning, not only lacking the spirit and grace that is expected of a good poet, but full of such vulgarity and such de-

fects as would mess up any poetry. Such being the case, I felt obligated to say all this, so as not to betray the faith of a friend in such an important matter. Nothing else. Even if he hadn't broken with me, I doubt that I could have remained silent, or that I could have described this work with more modest words. Finally his blessed *Creation*, or whatever it is, showed its face to the light of day; and immediately thereafter followed a merry sonnet burlesquing it, done more as a joke than as a barb, because the poem contained nothing prejudicial, nor pertinent to anything else other than his clumsy manner of versifying. He wasn't able to get out of his mind a persisting impression that I had written it! And he ran around fuming and complaining about me. This displeased me a great deal, because I could see the possible birth of an unpleasant situation; just the fact that I would be having a feud with Murtola would do me no honor."¹³

Murtola was freed and sent into exile. But even away from Turin, he continued to make trouble for Marino. It was probably he who brought to the attention of the Parmesan Inquisition that several impious and lascivious verses by Marino had been recited at a private reading. Much of Marino's work was pornographic. In the letter just quoted he admitted to the Duke of Savoy, in discussing Murtola's charge of obscenity against him: "I don't deny having accommodated myself to the humor of the time . . . but I never did anything really filthy . . . and when these worldly and juvenile things are brought up, why isn't any credit given for the many moral, pious and devout works that came from my pen?"¹⁴ But when writing to a less friendly fellow poet in Parma, trying to find how dangerous the investigations were becoming, he was much more cautious: "I can never deny having many times read and recited foul or dirty poems that came into my hand on several occasions, and I laughed over them with my friends, and gave them copies. But no one can ever say in truth that I was the author of them, even if out of vanity at the time I said I was."¹⁵

Shortly after the Murtola affair, Marino was imprisoned in Turin, again for unknown reasons. Probably some good jokes brazenly aimed at his protector had angered the Duke, who either removed the poet from the court, or withdrew his protection, thus affording an awaited chance for the Inquisition or for other enemies.¹⁶ Marino spent fourteen months in prison (April 1611 to June 1612) until influential pressure caused his release.¹⁷ Although advised by his

10. The Duke had already been hailed as "liberalissimo protettore di tutte l'arti liberali" by Lomazzo in his dedication to the Duke of his *Trattato della pittura* (Milan, 1585); and he was praised no less lavishly by Federigo Zuccaro in the dedication of his *L'idea de' pittori, scultori et architetti* (Turin, 1607) to the Duke. These are, needless to say, two of the most important art theoretical texts of the time.

11. *Della Creatione del Mondo, poema sacra del Sig. Gasparo Murtola. Giorni Sette, Conti Sedici*, Venice, 1608.

12. Marino, *Epistolario I*, pp. 66ff., Letter 51 [1609].

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 71ff., Letter 52. The complete letter is 12 pages long.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 76, Letter 52.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 91, Letter 56 to Stigliani. See also p. 220, Letter 134, in which he instructs his Venetian printer, Ciotti, to make a separate signature for certain "jokes" when printing *La Galleria*; this signature to be given to the customer, but not to the imprimatur.

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 100ff., Letter 65 to the Duke of Savoy, asking for mercy and apologizing for some verses he had written. From this politic letter one can ascertain that the Duke was displeased by the verses, but not that they directly occasioned Marino's imprisonment.

17. Among the intercessors were Prince Francesco Gon-

friends to leave the town, he rather pluckily stayed in Turin, and was again accepted into the Duke's household, with his old pension. While in prison he prepared several volumes for the press; one was the *Dicerie Sacre*, the work of most interest to us.

His greatest embarrassment while in Turin came from a published mythological mistake. In a sonnet about a friend's sonnet (for such were the literary practices of the day) he referred to a lion as the one-time terror of Lerna, but as Lerna was the city where Hercules had killed the Hydra, a great literary furor arose. A storm of pamphlets and poems by enemies and friends resulted.

Some writers suggest that this unpleasantness was the reason why in 1615 he left Italy for France. The Queen of France Marie de' Medici had invited him to the French court some years before as part of her effort to civilize Gaul; (she had already imported the fork and *la buona cucina da Toscana*). At Paris Marino managed with finesse to get himself pensioned by both King Henry IV and the Queen. He spent the money having his *La Galleria* published in Venice (1620); but the printing was so disastrously full of misprints, that he decided to supervise for himself in Paris the printing of *Adone*, his *magnum opus* of many years' composition.¹⁸

But the many wars and the serious quarrels in the royal family¹⁹ caused such irregular financial and social conditions that the printing process was delayed time and again. These conditions (not to speak of the enormous length of *Adone*, over 5,200 eight-line stanzas) kept Marino in Paris for many more years than he had planned. It was, nonetheless, for him a period of enormous literary productivity.

When the book was finally printed and launched into Italy, only ill-health kept Marino from following in the wake of its fantastic success²⁰ into his native land. It was during the delay caused by his illness that he discovered Poussin.

In 1624 Marino finally returned to Italy, passing slowly through city after city, enjoying a triumph in

each, and finally stopping in Rome. There as a visitor at the court of Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi, nephew of Pope Gregory XV and a famous patron of the arts, he again crossed paths with Agucchi, who was then secretary to the Pope and an aid to the Cardinal.

A very ill man, Marino went to Naples, where he was honored and praised in the city from which he had fled as a fugitive twenty-five years before. There, in 1625, after a painful illness, he died. On his deathbed he received the last sacraments of the Church, and piously ordered and penitently watched the burning of some of his too profane works.²¹

Throughout his active life, Marino's literary production had been enormous, his list of published works astounding, and their success bewildering.²² His true character is buried under the scandals that form the landmarks of his life, and he is usually thought of as an adventurer similar to Cellini, but I hope that I have shown here the character which Poussin remembered so well and so affectionately. Marino was really a man of many admirable and attractive qualities, of great personal loyalty and generosity, of undoubted charm and wit, of wide interests, of surprising artistic and intellectual independence, and of exemplary industry.

His true character has been equally obscured under the infamous weight of his unreadable epic, *Adone*. This is a work so long that even the author feared that, once printed, it would be more a piece of furniture than a book.

Literary critics have categorized him as worthless by attaching his name to the least inspired movement of Italian poetry. *Il Marinismo* includes all the Italian mannerist poets of the early seventeenth century. The existence of a "literary mannerism" contemporary with the full baroque of Bernini and Rubens is a problem that does not disturb literary critics as much as it does art historians.²³ Nonetheless his literary technique, in its use of elaborate metaphors, is similar to the rhetorical compositions of Arcimboldi and those artists a generation older. Croce analyzes this metaphor technique of Marino (and hence of the Marinisti) as

zaga of Mantua, the papal ambassador of Cardinal Aldobrandini, the French Ambassador (prompted by Marie de' Medici), and supposedly with the greatest effect, the English Ambassador.

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 219ff., Letter 134 to Ciotti, his Venetian publisher [in 1619]. He mentions the advantage of printing *Adone* far from the Inquisition, "Perchè [if printed in Venice] mi sarebbono castrati dall'inquisitore, e poi io voglio assistere alla correzione."

19. To celebrate the patching up of one royal quarrel in 1622, Rubens was commissioned to paint the twenty-two pictures of the Medici Cycle for the Luxembourg Palace. Rubens came to Paris to sign the contract. Marino had already publicized two of his paintings in *La Galleria* in 1620. Borzelli (*Marino*, p. 213) remarks that the cycle compositions have several "points of contact" with a long poem of Marino's, *Il Tempio panegirico di Maria de' Medici*, (Lyons, 1615). This long eulogy may have set up, along with many other occasional court pieces by the poet, a queenly iconography. Otto von Simson (*Zur Genealogie der Weltlichen Apotheose im Barock besonders der Medici Galerie des P. P. Rubens*, [Strassburg, 1936], pp. 271ff.) notes the few similarities in iconog-

raphy between the poem and the Rubens cycle. However, *Il Tempio* appeared earlier than many of the events depicted in the cycle; and it is unlikely anyway that a poem would be used as a program.

20. The Italian text was reprinted at least fifteen times, and translations were made into many of the major languages of Europe.

21. Marino, *Epistolario II*, pp. 175ff., Letter 106 of Claudio Achillini addressed to Girolamo Preti describes the scene with much circumstance.

22. His posthumous epic, *La Strage degli Innocenti*, much shorter than *Adone*, was translated into Latin, English, German, Dutch, and twice into French.

23. René Hocke, *Manierismus I*, Hamburg, 1957, pp. 15f.: "Wie steht es denn nun mit der bildenden Kunst? Sie eilt im damaligen Europa der Dichtung um mindestens 50 Jahre voraus, den Traktatisten über Literatur um mehr als hundert Jahre." Wylie Sypher, *Four Stages of Renaissance Style*, New York, 1956, p. 105: "Shall we say that in Italy the mannerist period falls between 1520 and 1620 . . . ?" W. Friedländer had already in 1914 (see note 2) accurately equated the early baroque similarities of Poussin and Marino.

of two sorts. The first astounds by the extravagance and audacity of arbitrary combinations, and the second astounds again through the audacity and extravagance of minute observation.²⁴ This is *Concettismo*, which Croce characterizes as exercising the mind without using it.²⁵ Its technique is a formulization of the sincere shock and stress felt by the first great generation of Mannerists. But in Marino's work, and in that of the *Marinisti*, the sense of shock no longer produces, but is produced; and the courage for audacity is created not by despair, but by the spiritual security resulting from the successes of the Counter-Reformation. Nonetheless, the technique of seeking fantastic comparisons increased the range of subjects which poetry could call its own, and claimed for poetic inspiration a greater freedom than had been allowed it before.

In 1614 while at the court of Savoy, Marino dedicated the first of his *Dicerie Sacre* to the Duke Carl Emmanuel I, to whom some noted books on art theory had already been dedicated.²⁶ This discourse, entitled *La Pittura*, supplied a metaphysical background for this new freedom in the pictorial arts. This is an art theory that has heretofore been almost completely neglected, and certainly unappreciated.²⁷

2. MARINO AS AN ART-THEORIST: DICERIE SACRE

In 1614 in writing to a friend, Guid'Ubaldo Benamenti, who often acted as his agent in securing drawings, Marino finished his business letter with the following notice: "In the meantime I am having printed here in Turin certain of my *Sacred Discourses*, which will, I am bold to say (and excuse my modesty), astonish the public. It will appear as a thing extravagant, and unexpected, especially to those who do not know of the careful studies I have pursued through the years on the Holy Writ. But it is a work of which I am particularly proud and in the composition of which I have taken painful cares. I hope it will please as much through the novelty and bizarreness of its basic idea [*inventione*]"—for each discourse is built on a single metaphor—as

through its liveliness of style and the manner of its witty conceits.²⁸

Marino's three *Sacred Discourses* were published in 1614 in Turin with a complex of dedications which managed to include everyone of political importance, from the pope to the local cardinal.²⁹ The title of each discourse announces the conceit upon which it is based. The second is called "Music, or the Seven Last Words on the Cross." The third is called "Heaven, or the Religion of SS. Mauritius and Lazarus" (the patrons of the Order of Savoy in which Cavalier G. B. Marino had already been knighted). It is the first, entitled "La Pittura, Diceria prima, sopra la Santa Sindone," or "Painting, or the Holy Shroud," which concerns us the most.

The Holy Shroud or *Santa Sindone* is a mysterious and famous relic first recorded in the possession of the House of Savoy in 1354. In 1578 it was moved from Lirey, France (then in the Savoyard domain) to Turin, where it is now. The Shroud is a long narrow cloth that bears the front and back impressions of a body tortured by crucifixion. This image is believed by some to have been made through some curious chemical reaction by the body of Our Lord as it lay in the tomb. The Holy Shroud has been the subject of continual controversy, investigations, and veneration.³⁰ And it is the basis of the 20,000 word conceit of the first discourse.³¹

Marino used a different traditional form as the model for each of the three parts of the discourse. The final section is in the Plinian or anecdotal tradition. The second section is a theoretical discussion of painting, using two favorite themes of Renaissance theory, *ut pictura poesis*, and "the parts of painting."

The first section is in the antique *apologia* form. E. R. Curtius presents the arguments of this form as already conventionalized by Plutarch's time. The art to be defended is made respectable by pointing to 1) the human and divine origins of the art; 2) the moral and

duodecimo have the same pagination.

30. A concise report of the history, appearance, and investigations of the Holy Shroud, along with a bibliography, is given by Walter Abbott in his article "Shroud," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Supplement 11, Section Seven, 1957. See also Hans Wentzel, "Das Turiner Leichentuch Christi und das Kreuzigungs-Bild des Landgrafenpsalters in Stuttgart," in *Neue Beiträge zur Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte Schwabens* (Festschrift Julius Baum), Stuttgart, 1952, pp. 40-44. The author has tried to connect the sudden early 13th century change from the four-nail to the three-nail type of Crucifixion in Southern Germany with the arrival of the relic in France after the plunder of Constantinople in 1204. He does not however explain why there was not a simultaneous change from the unlikely, but still traditional palm-nailing to the wrist-nailing, as evident on the Holy Shroud.

31. Lomazzo had used the Veil of Veronica as an example of Christ's painting in his defense of the art (G. P. Lomazzo, *Il tempio della pittura*, Milan, 1590, p. 24), but without recognizing or using the opportunity to conceitize. He was too busy with his own seriously conceived and dryly developed conceit, i.e., Painting as a seven-pillared temple.

24. B. Croce, *La Letteratura italiana*, III, Bari, 1956, p. 62.

25. B. Croce, *Saggi sulla letteratura italiana*, Bari, 1924, pp. 351-408. This and the above book are compendiums; they include almost all the pieces of Croce's lifelong attack on Marino. Croce as an editor showed, however, that with patience and taste a good anthology could be formed from Marino's works: Marino, *Poesie varie*, Bari, 1913. Another recent anthology is edited by G. G. Ferrero, *Marino e i Marinisti*, Milan [1954].

26. See note 10 above.

27. Schlosser did not include the title in his great *Die Kunsliteratur*, but a paragraph concerning the *Dicerie Sacre* has been added in the second Italian edition: J. Schlosser Magnino, *La Letteratura artistica*, Florence, 1956, p. 615. Here Marino's thought is correctly linked with Zuccaro. Hocke (*Manierismus*, I, p. 97) cites one unimportant sentence in an unclear context.

28. Marino, *Epistolario I*, p. 146, Letter 98.

29. First edition: *Dicerie Sacre del Cavalier Marino*, Luigi Pizamiglio, stampatore ducale, Turin, 1614. Borzelli (*Marino*, p. 289) lists fourteen other printings. I used the edition published by Violati in Venice, 1615. Many early editions in

political uses of the art; 3) the encyclopaedic knowledge of the artist; and 4) the greatness of heroes and monarchs who esteemed the art.³²

Marino prefaces the *apologia* proper with a favorite but equally antique addition, the comparison of painting and sculpture. This dispute had long since become simply a means of displaying wit and rhetorical ability. After a very dull dispute between the personified antagonists, Marino admits that the argument cannot be resolved easily, as both mediums are "children of the same parent, *Disegno*, having in common the very same end—that is, to present individual substances to our eyes by a skilled imitation of nature." But sculpture must cede to painting for many reasons, one being that painting is "the first daughter of the *Idea*." Marino uses the *Idea*-doctrine here as a cliché ending to a cliché-packed argument. In general, the Renaissance theorists whose views he followed closely were not Neo-Platonists, as the rest of the passage clearly indicates.³³ Marino is usually not very consistent in his philosophical borrowings; he was bored with the disciplined concepts of any system, and interested only in material for his flighty conceits. For instance, a key doctrine of Neo-Platonism, and a favorite theme of the literary Neo-Platonists of the Renaissance, "The Sun is like God," is extended as a metaphor *ad nauseum*,³⁴ whereas an important concern of the same writers, *Bellezza* (Beauty) is scarcely mentioned.

His distance from the severity of Neo-Platonism is dramatically shown in another passage (further on in the first section of *La Pittura*) discussing God's creation of the world: "This sky flowered with so many stars was a joke of God's hand; and this earth starred with so many flowers; and this soft air, thin as a subtle veil; these waters, scraped up with tiny and minute grains of sand; and the myriad species of animals, ferocious and tamed, wild and domestic: all told, all

created things are jokes from the fingers of God. *Opera digitorum tuorum sunt caeli*. And while in the process of making up the model with His fingers, He did nothing else but play and joke, as if a work so marvelous were a hoax. *Ludens in orbe terrarum*."³⁵

This is close enough to certain anti-Platonic passages in the works of Philostratus (first half of the third century A.D.) that we can look there for Marino's inspiration. We can also take the term Fantasy (*φαντασία*) from the same passages, and apply it to the creative process Marino describes.³⁶

The second part of *La Pittura*, about 5,000 words long, is concerned with two favorite themes of art theory proper. In the very opening we read, "Many are the relationships, and great are the analogies, as believe all the sages, between canvas and paper, between colors and ink, between brush and pen, etc."³⁷ The theme of *ut pictura poesis* is so essential that it cannot be ignored,³⁸ but it is given a relatively short and uninspired development by Marino. The purpose of both arts is to "delectably nourish human souls, and with the loftiest pleasure console them."³⁹ The section that follows contrasts God's poetry with His painting, and then describes the sustenance and consolation offered by the *Santa Sindone*, and of its articulate qualities as a "speaking picture." The admirable elocution of the sacred relic is described in terms of the parts of painting: "There are two things (to my belief) that can make painting speak admirably: excellence of *Disegno* and of *Colorito*."⁴⁰

The enumeration and discussion of the Parts of Painting have a long history; they vary in number from two to half a dozen.⁴¹ Alberti, on the analogy of rhetorical rules, presented three, which can be simply presented as *Disegno*, *Composicione*, and *Colorito*.⁴² He considered the content (for him *Istoria*) part of

32. E. R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, New York, 1943, p. 547.

33. "Ma avvenga che non sia così facile da decidere questa disputa, come altri crede . . . essendo ambedue figliuole d'un padre istesso, ch'è il Disegno; & havendo per commune un sol fine medesimo, cioè con una artificiosa imitatione della Natura offerire a gli occhi nostri le sostanze individue; contentisi nondimeno la scultura di sopir la contesa, & determinar la differenza, cedendo per hora alla pittura, nelle cui lodi per mozzar le lunghe non mi voglio oltremodo diffondere. Tacerò, ch'ella sia prima figlia della Idea, madre del modello, Reina della maraviglia, Principessa della simmetria, nutrice della proportion, alimento dell'archipenzolo, norma della riga, regola del compasso." *Dicerie*, 4^v. Even so, Marino in his poem on the Magdalena by Titian in *La Galleria* (Venice, 1635, p. 86), shows a familiarity with the idea-doctrine. Indeed, this passage is quoted by Bellori in his lecture "L'Idea della Pittura" (*Vite*, p. 8, also available in English in Elizabeth Holt, *A Documentary History of Art*, II, New York, 1958, p. 100).

34. For ten sides, from folio 14^r to 19^r.

35. *Dicerie*, 44^v.

36. "Then *Damis*, God is a painter and has left his winged chariot, upon which he travels, as he disposes of affairs human and divine, and he sits down on these occasions to amuse himself by drawing these pictures [images in the clouds which resemble animals, etc.], as children make figures in the sand." Phi-

lostratus, *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, II, 22, Loeb translation by F. C. Conybeare. In Book VI, 19, we also read, "Imagination [*φαντασία*] wrought these works, a wiser and subtler artist by far than imitation; for imitation can only create as its handiwork what it has seen, but imagination equally what it has not seen." See also "Der Weltenmaler Zeus," by Julius von Schlosser in *Präudium*, Berlin [1928], pp. 296-303, for an early Renaissance appearance of the theme.

37. "Son tante le proportioni, & si grandi l'analogie, ch'al credere di tutti i Savi passan trà le tele & le carte, trà i pennelli & le penne," *Dicerie*, 52^v.

38. See Rensselaer W. Lee, "Ut Pictura Poesis, the Humanistic Theory of Art," *ART BULLETIN*, XXII, 1940, pp. 197-269. Needless to say I am indebted to this article for general understanding and many specific points.

39. "Sono amendue ad un medesimo fine intente cioè a pascere dilettevolmente gli animi humani, & con sommo piacere consolarli," *Dicerie*, 52^v. This terminology is obviously chosen for its sensuous effect, rather than for exactness.

40. *Dicerie*, folio 55^r.

41. Lee (*op.cit.*, Appendix 2, "Inventio, dispositio, elucutio," p. 264) has elegantly summarized the history of their solidification, and of their derivation from the parts of ancient elocution.

42. "Adunque la pictura si compie di conscrittione, compositione, ed ricevere di lume," Alberti, *De Pictura*, Vienna, 1877 (edited by H. Janitschek), p. 99.

Composicione. A century later, Vasari, with Mannerist emphasis on meaning, used only two parts: *Invenzione* and *Disegno*.⁴³

The Venetian theorists of the mid-sixteenth century, Pino⁴⁴ and Dolce,⁴⁵ accepted *Invenzione* and *Disegno*, but of course, being Venetians, reinstated *Colorito*, thus formulating a triad that endured for a century.⁴⁶

Like Vasari, Marino has chosen a pair. But his *Colorito* and *Disegno* make a very different pair from Vasari's, for *Disegno* for Marino is no longer simply drawing and its mechanics. Marino's theoretical predecessor in Turin, Federigo Zuccaro, had carefully examined this ambiguous word in his book *L'Idea de' pittori, scultori, e architetti*, published in Turin in 1608.⁴⁷ Zuccaro analyzed the word *Disegno*, which like our word "design" means both purpose and drawing, and clarified these two meanings into exact terms: *Disegno interno* (Inward Design) and *Disegno esterno* (External Design).⁴⁸

The self-conscious Mannerist age was the first to feel the need to explain creative activity. Zuccaro attempted to give a philosophical answer to this half-formed question by making the creative process a natural result of man's divine nature. According to him, God in making man in His own image, gave him the faculty to form inside himself the *Disegno interno*, and from it, half imitating God and emulating Nature, to produce in painting and sculpture an infinity of artificial things that resemble nature.⁴⁹

The operating idea can be formed in the mind in three ways. The first is to form the Idea in the intellect directly from nature (*Disegno naturale*); this is the best and purest way. The second is through human artifice and tools (*Disegno artificioso*); but rules are obtained through measuring matter, and are hence already contaminated and less intellectual. Even worse, Zuccaro fears, some artificial rules are formed from the works of other artists. The third and meanest method is through fantasy (*Disegno fantastico*); this is good only for decorations.

Marino, after having named the two parts of painting, divides *Disegno* also into two parts. Although borrowing heavily from Zuccaro, he does not use the

theorist's exact and complex terms, but taking for granted connections which Zuccaro carefully explored, he hurries through to a practical solution. This may be a bit confusing in terminology, but Marino is more interested in the work of art than in the theory, and hence wants to get the *Idea* into operation as quickly as possible. Continuing the passage quoted above he writes: "As for the first circumstance [or part of painting] we can consider *Disegno* in two manners. One [way] is internal and intellectual, the other is external and practical. Both the one and the other have regard for nothing else but the form (be it either the shape of corporeal things by means of the surface, or be it from inside) and good ensemble—that is, how well each part of the whole is located in its proper place. The internal intellect observes these forms in the *Idea* of the painter, according to his knowledge. The external practice spreads them on paper, or canvas, or elsewhere materially for the judging of the human eye, and then according to the tricks of the trade, correcting them and refining them until ultimate perfection."⁵⁰ *Disegno esterno*, then, is drawing and its mechanics; the other half of *Disegno*, the conception of a mental artistic pattern (to use terminology not used by Marino or Zuccaro), is described a few pages further on. *Disegno pratico*, deduced from Zuccaro's *Disegno esterno pratico* becomes the go-between. Here Marino is more precise, feeling a personal responsibility toward the originality of his scheme: "*Disegno pratico*, whose office is to put into operation conceits or seen objects, takes ordinarily three ways to work in earthly painters. One way is to make up the thing in one's mind, which is to say, doing it from practice, or indeed, from fantasy. The second is to discipline one's self exactly to the rules of perspective. The third is to extract from natural things. The first, as being much quicker than the second, is also the most used by the majority of those who paint, because these take pride in that which they have prepared in their heads through long experience in drawing. This usually succeeds more, and is less likely to fail, according to whether the painter has more or less diligence and talent. The second, without doubt, is the most certain and sure, as being that which does

43. Vasari did not, of course, formulate his art theory, but a good summary of his beliefs is given by Schlosser (*Die Kunstliteratur*, Vienna, 1924, pp. 285-294; 2nd Italian edition, pp. 323-332). Vasari included composition in *Disegno*, and as a good Florentine, considered *Colorito* an accident, not an essential part. The conceits which interest Marino are included in Vasari's *Invenzione*, but Vasari emphasizes meaning rather than novelty.

44. P. Pino, *Dialogo di Pittura*, Venice, 1946, p. 100 (1st ed., Venice, 1548).

45. L. Dolce, *Dialogo della Pittura . . . l'Aretino*, Florence, 1735, pp. 150ff. (1st ed., Venice, 1557).

46. Until the late 17th century French critic Roger de Piles feels constrained to add Expression, also culled from rhetorical traditions.

47. See note 10 above. The quotations here are from the edition published by Marco Pagliarini, Rome, 1768. Some of the passages I refer to are in English translation in Holt, *Documentary*, II, pp. 87-92.

48. These terms are defined again into many exact cate-

gories. Zuccaro limits these terms however to strictly artistic meanings, avowedly rejecting philosophical and theological terms, *Idea*, I, 2, Rome, 1768, p. 7, and Holt, *op.cit.*, p. 88.

49. Zuccaro, *op.cit.*, I, 7, p. 18. This talent is also necessary so that we can recognize the other creatures of the earth. God has only one Idea in his mind; the Ideas men form from the things they see are necessarily accidents. Zuccaro's thoughts are simplified here in order to approach Marino's conception of them. See Erwin Panofsky, *Idea*, Leipzig, 1924, pp. 47-53, for the relationship of Zuccaro to the Mannerist dilemma. I am of course greatly indebted to this book.

50. *Dicerie*, 55^r and 55^v. Marino turns this thought into a beautiful religious conceit. The text continues: "Just as much can be contemplated by the Christian soul in the marvelous picture of Christ. Internal design, and external design, Love and Pain. The one in the spirit, the other in the senses. The one in the intention, the other in the execution. . . ." These are the very theological terms Zuccaro rejected, see note 48 above.

nothing by chance, but does all with true reasons, and with proofs and infallible demonstrations. . . . But whereas to the degree that regular bodies are easy to draw in perspective, to the same degree irregular ones cause difficulty, and take lengths of time; it is more expedient for painters to avail themselves of the third way, which being the middle participates in both, revealing to the eyesight from nature the things they paint, either from a set-up model, or with the aid of some mathematical instrument. Neither of these last two methods was used by God in His *Disegno*.⁵¹

In cribbing from Zuccaro, Marino has made the vocabulary less abstract. The evaluation of the three ways of execution is now closer to the shop tradition and shop theory of the Renaissance, whereas Zuccaro's suggested shop practice was as abstract and idealistic as his vocabulary. Doubtless Marino could be better understood by non-philosophers.

Marino has changed one of the Venetian three parts of painting. *Colorito* had been specifically retained by him.⁵² His *Disegno* has clearly two meanings; *Disegno esterno* is simply drawing, as was *Disegno* of the triad. The third Venetian part, *Invenzione*, is completely ignored, and hence unwittingly replaced by the emphasized *Disegno interno*, which in its purest and highest form (as used by God the Father in creating the world and the Word Incarnate) is *Fantasia*.

Though Marino nowhere formulates *Fantasia*, *Colorito*, and *Disegno* as the three parts of painting, the triad is fully implied. His was an intuitive formulation of the growing sense of freedom of the Baroque, which once realized, made further formulation unnecessary.⁵³

The third part of *La Pittura*, another section of about 5,000 words, is a loosely connected series of anecdotes about painting, which are conceitized to praise the Holy Shroud and the owner, the Duke of Savoy. One example will suffice to demonstrate the elaborate and far-fetched (hence good!) conceitizing of Marino. When the ineluctable story of the contest

between Parrhasius and Zeuxis is related,⁵⁴ Marino interprets it as a fight between the devil and God. The devil first painted a fruit, an apple, "whose earthly beauty brought to disobedience the simplicity of our first parents. . . . But he must give way to our Divine Painter, Who has brought forth such a marvelous canvas (*Ecco la Sindone*) and Who has given it through stupendous coloring so much beauty, that it wins the respect of the challenger, and gloriously attains the victory."⁵⁵ This sort of conceitizing is all well and good so long as Marino uses stories from Pliny, but when he interprets the tales of ancient mythology in an allegorical way, a problem is posed. In 1564 the Council of Trent unequivocally condemned all tropological and allegorical interpretations of ancient mythology, naming particularly the interpretations in *Ovide Moralisé*.⁵⁶ Nonetheless in *La Pittura* Marino interprets the ancient gods as angelic messengers sent to the Hellenes, just as the angels were sent to the Old Testament fathers. The beginning of the second Sacred Discourse, *On Music*, is even more astonishing for his time:⁵⁷ "We find symbolized in the gods, somewhat imperfectly, but after a fashion: the Trinity in Janus, the creation of man in Prometheus, the revolt of the Angels in the Giants, Lucifer in Phaeton, Gabriel in Mercury, Noah in Deucalion, Lot's wife in Niobe, . . . the flood in Atlantis, the Incarnation in Danae, the love of Christ in Psyche, the battle with the devil in Hercules, . . . the Resurrection of the dead in Aesculapius, the Passion in Attis, the descent into Hell in Orpheus, . . . the Assumption in Ariadne . . . and a thousand and one other falsehoods are applicable to the truth, as diligent study of their brevity will reveal."⁵⁸ And this is only the introduction to *Musica*. Its main conceit is the "Word Incarnate" as prefigured in the god Pan. Pan, as half human and half beast, is an old and learned symbol for the dual nature of man, half spirit and half flesh.⁵⁹ Nonetheless, his popular reputation has emphasized the fleshy and animal part of his nature. (The

51. *Ibid.*, folio 57^v and 58^r. Marino is not precise about the method God did use. The text continues directly into the conceit: "He did not make use of any natural object, or of a compass, because, being that Eternal Mind in which all Ideas glittered, He did not need anything else, nor did He find any created thing, which would arrive at expressing such a high concept. And what mathematical measure could circumscribe that love, which was without measure?"

52. Marino's discussion of *Colorito* leads directly into conceits, without reviewing any theory of interest.

53. The Baroque age, though fond of quoting other theorists, never formulated its own theory. Academic-classic theory cannot be considered as Baroque theory. The *Considerazioni sulla pittura* of Giulio Mancini (written between 1610-1630, but only recently published, with an excellent commentary by Luigi Salerno, Rome, 1956-1957, 2 volumes) contains many original observations about connoisseurship and theory. (See especially Luigi Grassi, *Storia del disegno*, Rome, 1947, pp. 31-33, for a discussion of Mancini's differentiation between the sculptural and painterly Ideas, which foreshadows somewhat Riegel's terminology.) Despite the occasional common sense clarity of Mancini's opinions, they seem related more to a polemical defense of the amateur-critic than to an organized

art theory, and their sum is not so impressive, nor useful, as the biographical information he gathered and offers to us about various painters of his day.

54. Pliny, 35, 65.

55. *Dicerie*, 65^r.

56. See Jean Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods*, New York, 1953, pp. 274f. The Council's text is reprinted and discussed.

57. Van Mander in *Het Schilder-Boeck*, published in 1604, when discussing the myth of Pandora, declines to invest this pagan subject with a Christian allegorical meaning. "I have no wish or intention to mix sacred pure scripture with vulgar, heathen tales" (translated and quoted by Dora and Erwin Panofsky, *Pandora's Box*, London, 1956, p. 64). This is an indication that writers did feel the pressure of the Council's edict.

58. *Dicerie*, 102^r-102^v.

59. A communication from Dr. Panofsky: "It seems that the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, including Rabelais (*Gargantua*, IV, 28), were quite accustomed to identifying Pan with Christ, but for a reason entirely different from that adduced by Marino. They tried to interpret the fantastic story of the 'Death of the Great Pan' told by Plutarch in

current iconography of the devil is derived from Pan's personal iconography.) It is the resulting unpleasantness in this metaphor, plus perhaps the thrill that the comparison is illegal, which Marino exploits in his long and complicated conceit. That this was a literary device, and not the revival of a mediaeval tradition, was probably recognized by the two clerics who gave the work its *imprimatur*, by the Inquisition which ignored it, and by the Cardinal of Savoy, to whom this discourse was dedicated.

However the Counter-Reformation has left some positive effects in the book. There are several intense and lyrical meditative passages which are most evidently the result of practicing the contemplation technique of the great Counter-Reformation saints. "Imagine the Virgin's tears dropping onto this Shroud . . .," one such passage starts, and a sustained passage of broad rhythms and effective, if sentimental emotions follows.

Some of the anti-iconoclastic arguments, which defended religious art against the reformers, appear here. The "God as a Painter" argument is used constantly, as we have seen. Another is the "Bible of the Poor" argument. Marino's use of this argument contrasts greatly with the opinion of the Mannerist Vasari. He printed explanations of his works, thus hinting that even the literate needed help to understand paintings, as indeed they did with his. When Marino talks of painting that everyone can understand, which moves to piety, he is describing the new simplicity and obvious piety of early Baroque painting, and in particular that of the Bolognese school, which was produced in compliance with the instructions of the Council of Trent.⁶⁰

3. MARINO AS A COLLECTOR: LA GALLERIA

Another famous work of Marino seems to promise the art historian much more than it produces; *La Galleria* is a verse anthology with each poem purportedly inspired by a drawing or a painting.⁶¹ About 1613 Marino wrote to Bernardo Castello, an artist whom he admired excessively: "Now I don't know if your grace is well informed about the work I now have in hand. It's called *La Galleria*, and contains all the antique fables. Each fable will be illustrated with a drawing from some excellent man, and I'll compose for each drawing a short eulogy in praise of the master, or else

wittily present a poetic caprice about him. I've already amassed a large quantity of such pictures from the most excellent and famous painters of this day, and want to have them all engraved with exquisite diligence. The poetry to be used is all prepared, and it will be, I believe, a book curious in its variety. . . . The fables I need are a *Venus on the Sea*, an *Europa*, and a *Narcissus*. Please don't fail to console me with at least one of these three, done after your own taste."⁶² In letters written to other artists at about the same time, he requests drawings on mythological subjects. These he expected free, in exchange for "the little fame my pen can give."⁶³ Sometimes he would even send the instructions in verse, as in the famous sonnet to Bartolomeo Schidone in which he asks for a portrait of Marino himself: "Take the suffering caused by icy cold, and fiery heat, Plus the horror of the dark and somber night, Together with the terror of death; Make of it—if you can—a strange mixture. Take in equal quantities, whatever the nether Region has in pain and shadow; mix with it, In equal portions, the bitterness of love, the guilt of Fortune, and the imperfection and misery of Nature. Extract venom from the Hydra, next collect some of The foam of the Serti. Then temper and grind your Colors with sighs and tears. Thus Schidone, accurately and without flattery, Paint my image. But even if you want it to seem alive, Don't give it vitality!"⁶⁴

This sounds very much like a recipe for the typical Mannerist portrait of fifty years earlier. Schidone himself probably found the instructions too old-fashioned even to consider. He resisted to the point of insult sending either portrait or drawings to the poet, not answering volleys of letters and envoys. But Marino, in his egoism, printed the sonnet in *La Galleria* anyway.

When it appeared in 1619, *La Galleria* was a thick work of 320 pages.⁶⁵ Only 55 of the over 600 poems were in the originally planned section *Fables*, and they were without the promised engravings. Other large sections were titled *Histories*, *Portraits*, *Capriccios*, and *Sculpture*. These new sections enabled him to include much extraneous poetical material which he had on hand and wanted published; the *Histories* include sections that are obviously parts of masques, etc. The *Fables* are more concerned with conceits about the subject mentioned in the title, and are very little concerned with art or art theory.⁶⁶ Many of the *Fables*,

De Defectu oraculorum (*Moralia*, 419) and, after long hesitation, decided that this story referred to the Death of Christ on the Cross because the event related by Plutarch happened under Tiberius. The reason for this identification was, however, not the dual nature of Pan as well as Christ but the old idea that Pan was the ruler of the universe as well as a 'Good Shepherd.' This story and other sources are in G. A. Gerhard, 'Der Tod des grossen Pan,' *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, 1915, No. 5." Marino quotes the Plutarch passage, *Dicerie*, 232^v almost *en passant*, tying it into his already elaborate conceit, rather than realizing new meanings from it.

60. See R. Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Italy, 1600-1750*, Baltimore, 1958, pp. 1ff., for a discussion of the formulated requirements of the council. Marino obviously believed

in the devout nature of his sacred discourses, for on his penitent deathbed, he was busily composing some more, see *Epistolario*, II, pp. 175f., Letter 106 of Claudio Achillini.

61. See Appendix for an analysis of the contents of Marino's *La Galleria*. The first edition published by Ciotti in Venice, 1620, is full of typographical errors; the later editions are better proofread. I used Ciotti's edition, Venice, 1622.

62. *Epistolario*, I, p. 131, Letter 79.

63. *Ibid.*, p. 137, Letter 86 to Guid'Ubaldo Benamati.

64. *Galleria*, p. 241. The last line reads in the original, "Ma se tu vuoi / Farla viva parer, non le dar vita."

65. The pornographic section to be distributed separately, see note 15.

66. Even so René Hocke refers to the work as "zahlreiche Kunst-Essays in Versen" (Hocke, *Manierismus*, I, p. 97).

as we have seen in the letter above, were ordered after the poems were written.

Even so it might be presumed that the subjects of the *Fables* were mainly after drawings which Marino wanted in his own collection and for the volume as it had been originally planned. Hence, the statistics of this section are of interest for they show—if not the artists he collected—those about whom he was enthusiastic. His praise and interest seem to have been not for Mannerist painters, but rather for the contemporary early Baroque painters, most of whom were accomplished and gifted artists, and among older painters, those of the High Renaissance.

CONCLUSION

When Marino's personality is freed from its surrounding myth, the result, though intriguing rather than attractive, helps in the understanding of his personal success. His literary success, however, may remain forever a mystery for us, unless a serious taste for conceits revives, but no matter how disputed his inclusion in the Pantheon of Poetry may be, he does deserve a niche in the Hall of Fame of Art Theory. His enthusiastic metaphysical defense (and literary demonstration) of *Fantasia* as not just a permitted part but as a prime factor in artistic creation supplied the encouragement which the free invention of the emerging Baroque needed and welcomed. Marino's *Dicerie Sacre* probably contains the most completely expressed art theory of the Baroque age. By establishing the principle of Fantasy, he made further formulation unnecessary.

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE

APPENDIX

THE CONTENTS OF LA GALLERIA

(See note 61)

The book contains over 600 poems, mostly madrigals and sonnets, divided into sections called *Favole*, *Historie*, *Ritratti*, *Capricci*, *Statue*, and *Relievi*, *Modelli*, e *Medaglie*.

The *Fables* alone can be considered to be part of the original project as explained to Bernardo Castello in a letter translated above, page 20. These are perhaps based upon drawings which Marino had in his possession; only a few oils seem to be included. One painting not in his collection is identified as in the Royal Gallery of Tuscany: The *Head of Medusa* on a shield by Michelangelo da Caravaggio, still in the Uffizi.

The *Histories* consist of 58 poems, all on Biblical themes "after" works of art, presumably paintings. Marino indicates the collections to which eleven of these paintings belonged (7 in the collection of Gio. Carlo Doria). Some of the others are still known, but the poems do not necessarily indicate that Marino ever saw them. The *Slaughter of the Innocents* of Guido Reni evokes: "*Che fai Guido? Che fai? / La man, che forme angeliche dipigne, / Tratta hor'opera sanguigne?*" The famous *Mary Magdalena* of Titian (known in several versions) is celebrated in a 14 verse poem (see note 33).

The *Portraits* are 400 in number, but only 14 are "after" supposed works of art. Seven are about the author's own portraits by famous artists, among others Caravaggio and Schidone. However, it is unlikely that Schidone ever followed Marino's poetical instructions on how to do the portrait (see p. 334 above), but Marino published the poem anyway. On the Caravaggio portrait see note 5 above.

The *Caprices* contain 12 poems of which only one is "after" a work of art; this poem appeared earlier accompanying Bernardo Castello's illustrations to Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata* (Genoa, 1617).

The *Sculpture* section contains 57 poems on 41 statues; four are identified antique statues (among them is the Cow of Myron, another the Belvedere Apollo); and ten are on named modern works (four of Michelangelo, two of Giovanni da Bologna).

Reliefs, *Models and Medals* contain 13 conceits on such themes as "Love modelled in Snow," or "Love modelled in Sugar," etc.

From his letters (see note 4) which are dated by the editors before the publication of *La Galleria* in 1620, we can verify Marino's actual possession of a few works by artists mentioned in the book. There are some specific requests for pictures for *La Galleria*, and some acknowledgements, but as the acknowledgements seldom identify the subject, we cannot always be sure if the work in question was used in the book. From Bernardo Castello two works are acknowledged on subjects that are included among the eight poems celebrating his work: a *Venus* (*Epistolario*, I, p. 43), and a *Narcissus* (*ibid.*, p. 133; the same letter talks of a promised *Europa*). A canvas is received from Malombra (*ibid.*, p. 90), perhaps the "Cupid and Psyche after Malombra" in *La Galleria*. From Malossa (*ibid.*, p. 139) and from Schidone (*ibid.*, p. 164) one drawing each is acknowledged, but the subjects are not named. A "Judgement of Midas after Malossa" and three mythological subjects after Schidone are included among the poems; but Marino had such difficulties getting the one drawing from Schidone, that it is unlikely he later got two others (*ibid.*, pp. 133-146).

An undated letter from Marino to Ludovico Carracci (G. Bottari, *Raccolta di lettere*, Milan, 1822, VII, pp. 23ff.) mentions having seen and praises a version of "Salmacis and Hermaphrodite" by Ludovico. He asks if he may acquire it. This letter is followed by another letter (reprinted in *Epistolario*, I, p. 56) in which as an agent for a "private collection," Marino asks Ludovico for a drawing on some salacious theme; he suggests Salmacis and Hermaphrodite. The lovers appear, embracing one another, in grisaille in the frieze zone of the Farnese Gallery, which was finished about the same time these letters must have been written. In *Drawings of the Carracci at Windsor Castle* (London, 1952), Rudolf Wittkower discusses a drawing of a very different scene of the two lovers (p. 109, No. 88). However, the poem "Salmace & Hermafrodito di Lodovico Caracci" in *La Galleria* (p. 334) can more easily be applied to the scene in the Farnese Gallery. Writing from Ravenna at about the same time, Marino asks an agent to ship an oil by one of the Carracci to him (*Epistolario*, I, p. 94). The subject is not identified.

Both *La Galleria* and the letters are hence unreliable sources from which to reconstruct Marino's collection. The poems are pure conceits, and they have little necessary connection with actual works of art; some of them indeed were prepared before the drawings were even requested (see p. 334 above). Attaching an artist's name to a poem was merely publicity in exchange for a past or future favor. Many drawings named in *La Galleria* must have been solicited and acknowledged in letters now lost (*ibid.*, p. 133, letter 83). A fit of pique or anger (as at a favor unreturned) could have caused Marino to remove from his files and destroy a whole set of letters (see a letter to Giulio Strozzi, in which he complains that Strozzi in publishing his correspondence mentions all the inhabitants of Rome, except Marino, "Affè, che sto per cancellarvi non solo dalle mie carte, ma anche dall'animo . . ." (*ibid.*, p. 291). But as his later letters show Marino to have been an avid and calculating collector, we can assume he did have many other works, drawings at least, in his possession when he published *La Galleria*.

Following is a list of the artists celebrated three times or more in *La Galleria*. The first number indicates attributions in *Fables*; the second is for mentions in the other sections.

Bernardo Castello 3 (5); Luca Cangiassi (7); Giuseppe d'Arpino 2 (4); Giovanni Baglioni 4 (1); Titian (6); Giovanni Contarni (4); Raphael (6); Guido Reni 2 (2); Bartolommeo Schidone 3 (1); Giovanni Valesio 4 (0); Michelangelo (4); Caravaggio 1 (2); Ferraù Finzone 3 (0); Domenico Passignano 1 (2); G. B. Paggi 1 (2); Fr. Marin Vanni 2 (1); etc. Around sixty-five artists are mentioned. Due to the difficulties in identifying actual works he may have seen, these bare statistics are the closest we can get to his public enthusiasms and his personal taste.

An article by E. B. Toesca ("Il Cavalier Marino, collezionista e critica d'arte," *Nuova antologia*, 455, 1952, pp. 51-66) though transmitting some of the charm of the letters, does not live up to the promise of its title. José Lopez-Rey ("El Greco's Baroque Light and Form," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XXIV, 1943, pp. 84ff.) takes the clichés of *La Galleria* to be more profound than I do. It is, of course, true that the clichés of a period are often its principles. For the difficulties in tracing Marino's iconography in the visual arts see the W. Friedländer article mentioned in note 2.

BOOK REVIEWS

WILHELM VÖGE, *Bildhauer des Mittelalters, Gesammelte Studien*, foreword by Erwin Panofsky, Berlin, Gebrüder Mann, 1958. Pp. 254; 126 figs. DM 28.00.

The re-publication of essays on mediaeval sculpture written by Wilhelm Vöge between 1899 and 1915 serves a much deeper purpose than making easily available to art historians a number of important studies originally published in various periodicals. No longer isolated, but printed together, these essays make us aware of the far-reaching interests of a great scholar. They reveal to us his penetrating insight into the essence of mediaeval sculpture; they show us his inimitable analytical methods.

The articles not only cover a wide span of time from the early mediaeval era ("Zur fränkischen Kunst") to the late mediaeval period ("Zum Nordportal des Freiburger Münsterchores"), they are also concerned with a wide range of problems. Some articles deal with individual sculptors (e.g., "Ein deutscher Schnitzer des 10. Jahrhunderts"; "Ein Kölner Holzbildhauer aus romanischer Zeit"; "Die Bahnbrecher des Naturstudiums um 1200"). Another study discusses the totality of workshops active at a cathedral ("Über die Bamberger Domsculpturen"). Still other essays analyze on a more general level basic principles and trends of Gothic sculpture ("Zur frühgotischen Plastik Frankreichs"; "Vom gotischen Schwung und den plastischen Schulen des 13. Jahrhunderts"; "Zur gotischen Gewandung und Bewegung"). Two studies investigate related problems: on the one hand, the stylistic continuity between sculptures of two different regions; on the other hand, the iconographic and formal evolution of particular themes in one region ("Der provençalische Einfluss in Italien und das Datum des Arler Porticus"; "Das Westportal der Kathedrale von Senlis und der plastische Stil am Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts").

Vöge's essays are never narrow in scope. They show admirable breadth and depth even where an article consists of only a few pages. For instance, when he discusses an Ottonian ivory newly acquired by the Berlin museum, he groups works of the same style around it, thereby establishing for the first time the whole oeuvre of the artist. He defines the specific characteristics of the artist's robust style, the models he used, and their forceful transformation. Thus Vöge creates a vivid image of a strong artistic personality.

His book reviews are equally comprehensive. He scrutinizes the books within the framework of the whole pertinent literature and thereby places them in

their proper perspective. Where his opinions differ from those of the authors under review, his criticism, often subtly ironical, never stops with a bare statement of their shortcomings; always he makes fruitful suggestions that invite the reader to think along new lines he has drawn. To give just one example: In the review of a doctoral dissertation on the Portal of Paradise of Paderborn cathedral, he finds fault with the author's failure to trace the history of non-columnar statues. Vöge goes on to write what amounts to a condensed history (the best yet written) of the changing relation between the jamb statues and the layout of socle zones, baldachins, and jambs.

The most important of his larger essays is the famous study on "Die Bahnbrecher des Naturstudiums um 1200." Vöge was the first one to point out the boldness and particular importance of two sculptors: the master of the portal of Solomon at Chartres, and the master of Peter and Paul at Reims. Convincingly, Vöge contrasts the plastic power of their styles with the more linear styles of sculptors active at other portals of the two cathedrals. With unerring precision and rare empathy he defines the physiognomical features and psychological attitudes of the heads carved by the two great masters. No study of French High Gothic sculpture is made nowadays which has not benefited from Vöge's perspicacity and from the validity of his observations and conclusions.¹

"Über die Bamberger Domsculpturen" was published more than sixty years ago. This essay has a particularly refreshing flavor because here Vöge states and clarifies his own opinions in relation to the opinions of other authors with whom he disagrees more often than not. We may no longer accept the dates he attributes to some of the sculptures, but we know that tentative dates are variable factors anyway. The lasting values of this essay are of infinitely greater importance. Vöge has given us a masterful analysis of the sculptures. (Particularly pertinent is the chapter about the much neglected Gnadenpforte, and the formal and spiritual relation of its figures.) More specifically—and convincingly—than ever before, Vöge elucidates the connection between the earlier and later workshops. With equal precision he defines the relation of the later Bamberg sculptures to Reims. Recognizing the new aims of one of the Reims sculptors, "the Joseph Master" as he terms him, Vöge states in one beautifully terse sentence the stylistic change separating this sculptor from the master of the Visitation at Reims: "... es ist eine Wandlung, die man als Schwenkung bezeichnen muss." Immediately afterwards, and with

1. See, for instance, the tributes paid to Vöge in some recent articles: W. Sauerländer, "Die kunstgeschichtliche Stellung der Westportale von Notre-Dame in Paris," *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, xvii, 1959, pp. 1ff.; T. G. Frisch, "The Twelve Choir Statues of the Cathedral at Reims," *ART BULLETIN*, xlii, 1960, pp. 1ff.; D. Schmidt, "Portalstudien zur

Reimer Kathedrale," *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, dritte Folge, xi, 1960, pp. 14ff. This footnote would remain too fragmentary, I believe, if one did not mention the everlasting debt owed by everyone who has studied the Royal Portal at Chartres to Vöge's pioneer work, *Die Anfänge des monumentalen Stiles im Mittelalter*, published in 1894.

a sense of urgency, Vöge widens this acute observation and links the shift in sculptural aims with a similar shift in architectural aims: "Fügen wir gleich hinzu, dass dieser Umschwung mit der Entwicklung der Architektur zusammenhing, mit ihrem gesteigerten Verlangen nach Schlankheit der Verhältnisse, nach Feingliedrigkeit und Bewegtheit der Form, nach Licht- und Schattenspiel." These two quotations must suffice here, but it should be said that the reader will find in the book a wealth of statements, equally true in substance, always clearly hammered out because Vöge's eye was keen, his mind penetrating, and his diction graphic.

After one has finished reading *Bildhauer des Mittelalters*, one will realize, I believe, two things. In the first place, Vöge has carved the artistic individuality of some great masters out of the anonymous sculpture of the Middle Ages. He has also recognized the stylistic coherence of Early Gothic portals (west façades of Senlis and Mantes, Porte des Valois at St.-Denis). He has defined the specific characteristics and the varying importance of the workshops of Chartres, Paris, and Reims, so that it becomes evident how the sculptural decoration of these church façades determines the main streams of mediaeval sculpture. Although the earliest article was written two generations ago, and the last one is more than forty-five years old, the essays have lost nothing of their freshness and pertinence.

Secondly, the reader will realize that Vöge was a rare master and passionate moulder of the German language. His characterization of style and expressive content is always beautifully phrased, sometimes of epic grandeur, at other times of lyric intimacy. His manner of writing reflects the strength of his convictions. Often he wishes to address the reader emphatically by italicizing words or sentences he considers to be crucial.

Erwin Panofsky has written the preface to the book. With deep and loving understanding he gives us not only insight into Vöge's life, but makes his personality actually come to life, his character, appearance, and bearing, his sensitivity for art, his humor, his attitude towards the changing—and often tragic—circumstances of his life (beautifully reflected in Vöge's own poems), and his relation to other people, were they his teachers or students, his colleagues or friends. Vöge's own remarks, now of profound earnestness, now of serene wit, now of delicate irony, are frequently quoted, and give us a feeling of immediate contact with his personality. Panofsky delineates the importance and impact of Vöge's work as a whole, and defines his singular place among other art historians of the same generation. Vöge, I am sure, could not have wished for a more moving presentation and interpretation of his aims, frustrations, and achievements than the one written by his devoted disciple who became his lifelong friend.

ADOLF KATZENELLENBOGEN
Johns Hopkins University

E. HAVERKAMP BEGEMANN, *Willem Buytewech*, Amsterdam, Menno Hertzberger, 1959. Pp. 232; 152 figs.

J. RICHARD JUDSON, *Gerrit van Honthorst: A Discussion of His Position in Dutch Art*, The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1959. Vol. 1, pp. 429, including
s. J. GUDLAUGSSON, *Gerard Ter Borch*, The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1950. Vol. 1, pp. 429, including 58 + 294 figs. 45 guilders. *Katalog der Gemälde Gerard Ter Borchs sowie biographisches Material*, 1960. Vol. II, pp. 318; 117 figs. 45 guilders.

In the last few years, the number of publications on Dutch art of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has conspicuously increased, at least across the Atlantic, and many of them are monographs on individual artists. What follows here is a report on three outstanding works of this kind; but it may be helpful to mention in passing a few treatises on other Dutch artists (all of them dissertations) because they have remained largely unknown to American readers and because they, although unillustrated, contain some valuable contributions to our knowledge of Dutch art of that era: Ingrid Jost, *Studien zu Anthonis Blocklandt*, Cologne, 1960; E. K. J. Reznicek, *Hendrick Goltzius als Zeichner*, Utrecht, 1961 (shortly to be published as a fully illustrated book); Eckhard Schaar, *Studien zu Nicolaes Berchem*, Cologne, 1958; and Ernst Brochhagen, *Karel Du Jardin*, Cologne, 1958. It is interesting to note that of these four works, two deal with late mannerists, and two with "Italianate" painters, indicating a continuous interest in the former group, and a revived interest in the latter.

Of the three monographs to be discussed here, one deals with a master of the very beginning of the seventeenth century, one with a representative of the period between 1615 and 1655, and one with an artist working between ca. 1635 and 1680. The first was written in Dutch by a Netherlander now residing in the United States, the second in English by a native American, and the third in German by an Iclander who is now a citizen of the Netherlands; of the dissertations just mentioned, all written in German, three are by Germans and one by a native of Czechoslovakia living in the Netherlands. The universal appeal of Dutch art of the *gouden eeuw* could hardly be illustrated more effectively; and it is to be hoped that from now on American scholars will participate somewhat more fully in such research.

Dr. Haverkamp Begemann's book, the illustrated version of an Utrecht dissertation of 1958, is an exemplary work of research by a mature scholar, to whom we were already indebted for a series of valuable contributions, particularly in the field of exhibition catalogues. Its subject is a master who, within an extraordinarily brief life-time, made a decisive contribution to Dutch genre and landscape art. His importance as a draughtsman and etcher was first emphasized in a memorable article by no less an author than Adolph Goldschmidt (1902), and his paintings were rediscovered

ered by Willem Martin (1916); later, many aspects of his art were treated in various studies, either within a larger context or in specialized form, but this is the first comprehensive monograph on the artist,¹ and there is every reason to call it definitive.

The main text of 55 pages is lucidly organized into chapters on Buytewech's life and artistic environment, religious subjects, allegories, portraits, genre subjects, landscapes, his influence on other artists, and a concluding summary of the achievements of the man who was called the "geestige" (inventive, ingenious, witty) Willem at an early date. This is followed by an English summary and by impeccable catalogues raisonnés of the paintings (altogether 22 items, of which, however, only 9 are accepted as indubitable originals, and 8 entirely eliminated), the drawings (118 originals, 5 doubtful, 32 apocryphal), and the etchings (identical with van Gelder's list of 1931, 36 items, plus 18 apocrypha). This is supplemented by an immensely valuable catalogue of prints made *after* Buytewech's works (53 items), 286 footnotes to the text, bibliography, and index.

As one peruses the 59 plates with 152 reproductions (many very small but nearly all of excellent quality) one is struck by the extraordinary versatility, spontaneity, and sense of humor which characterize this artist, who, reminiscent of Franz Schubert in more than this one respect, died in his early thirties. The swaggering cavaliers and smiling girls of his paintings and drawings, the sunny warmth of his interiors, his brilliant treatment of allegory "disguised" in realism,² his Bredero-like stage characters, his highly original glimpses of mythology, of past and contemporary history, of street scenes, stranded whales, and stage coaches, and finally his amazingly precocious, wonderfully intimate landscape drawings and etchings evoke the image of a man with a bright mind, a penetrating eye, and a magically dextrous hand, probably "wat lustig van leven," as was said of Frans Hals, whose art is similar to his in many ways and who may even have inspired him with the much discussed, now irretrievably lost *Berlin Gay Party*. A born Rotterdamer (1591 or 1592), Buytewech spent decisive years in Haarlem (ca. 1611-1617), where at this very time magnificent new forces in genre and landscape art were set free, and where Buytewech's contribution closely matched those of Goltzius, the young Hals, Esajas, and Jan van de Velde, and—last but not least—Hercules Seghers. His last years (1617-1624) were again spent in Rotterdam but his contact with Haarlem remained very

intimate; "if he must be assigned to a school it can only be the school of Haarlem."

The author has given us a sober and yet highly sensitive account of Buytewech's multifarious achievements. Particularly praiseworthy is his interpretation of the artist's development within each group of subjects as well as of the forces which influenced that development; here the author proves to be exceedingly well informed about a large number of artistic trends and personalities ranging all the way from Annibale Carracci, Elsheimer, and Rubens, to the Haarlem and Utrecht mannerists, to Uytenbroeck, the van de Velde, and other early Haarlem masters, on whom much light is shed in passing. Equally comprehensive and enlightening is the chapter on the artist's influence on the younger generation. The format (almost square) and the layout of the book must in many respects remain a matter of personal taste, although there can be little doubt about their problematic influence on the arrangement of the illustrations.

J. Richard Judson's *Gerrit Honthorst* is a slightly altered version of another Utrecht dissertation (1956), which in turn was based on a master's thesis written at the Institute of Fine Arts in New York. It is necessary to stress at the outset that the book is not a monograph on all aspects of Honthorst's art: the text as well as the catalogue raisonné almost completely eliminate the artist's activity as a painter of portraits proper, i.e., a large part of his production between ca. 1628 and his death in 1656. There will, however, be general agreement that this is the least important group of Honthorst's works and that the paintings of the late period which *are* covered in this book, namely the allegorical and historical scenes painted for the courts of Charles I of England, Frederik Hendrik of Orange, and Christian IV of Denmark, are of considerably greater interest.

Naturally, the main emphasis of Judson's account lies on the first three chapters, entitled "Early Environment," "Honthorst in Italy," and "Honthorst in Utrecht, 1620-28," whereas the fourth chapter, called "Illusionism and Court Decoration," covers only about twenty pages (including some very good ones on the charming "Musical Ceiling" of 1622). The artist's beginnings are carefully traced back to his teacher Bloemaert (whose influence was not restricted to Honthorst's early period), to the Bassani and other Venetians,³ and finally to Caravaggio, whose works were before the Netherlander's eyes during his Italian stay from ca. 1612 (?) to 1620. The list of his Italian

1. On the merits and shortcomings of the dissertation by J. S. Kunstreich, *Studien zu Willem Buytewech*, Kiel, 1957, see the author on p. 2. I am not acquainted with this work, which was later published as a book under the title *Der "geistreiche" Willem. Studien zu Willem Buytewech, in Arbeiten des kunsthistorischen Instituts der Universität Kiel*, vol. 3, in 1959.

2. This particular aspect was strongly underlined in E. K. J. Reznicek's review of the present book—indeed so strongly

that one is tempted to stress the fact (partially in defense of the author) that "genre," though undoubtedly a poor term, is not so meaningless a concept as Reznicek would have it and that Buytewech did help in opening the way for its acceptance in seventeenth century art. See *Burlington Magazine*, CII, 1960, pp. 36f.

3. It is gratifying to learn that the important problem of sixteenth century contacts between Venice and the Netherlands is now being restudied more extensively by the same author.

works is cleansed of some untenable attributions, the persistence of native reminiscences and added inspirations from Venetian and 'Bolognese sources are discussed' alongside analyses of the relationship to Caravaggio and to Caravaggists such as Manfredi, and "Gherardo delle Notti" emerges as a master of considerable power, charm, and originality, who synthesized Italian monumentality with Northern intimacy of mood and light effects, and whose very lapses of taste still leave room for some reluctant admiration.⁴ The second chapter concentrates on the years 1620-1628 and undertakes to lay bare the most important elements in the complicated fabric of Honthorst's relationship to contemporary Dutch artists like Terbrugghen, Bylert, Baburen, his old teacher Bloemaert, Moreelse, Frans Hals, and Judith Leyster. Here it is often impossible to establish criteria of priority; on the whole, one feels that Honthorst's new predilection for a lighter color gamut, for happy drinkers and musicians, and even for Arcadian subjects was due to an impact of older as well as recent forces upon him, a feeling generally enhanced by an inquiry into his works after 1628. With this felicitous blend of old and new elements he made quite an impression on his contemporaries (as one of them noted in his diary: "Honthorst, G., figures, excellent. Rides in a coach"⁵); but one cannot suppress the thought that out of the warm gold of his Roman works he minted some rather cold cash, and that his development from Italy to Utrecht forms a striking contrast to that of a truly great talent such as Terbrugghen's.⁷ It does seem probable that Judson somewhat overrated Honthorst's artistic stature and his contribution to the Dutch scene during that period.

The book gains added distinction by an appendix containing Mancini's account of Honthorst's activity in Rome (transcribed and translated by Denis Mahon), a very extensive and conscientious catalogue raisonné of his paintings and drawings (with the restrictions noted above), a full bibliography, an exemplary index, and 88 good reproductions.

Dr. Gudlaugsson's work on Terborch consists of two volumes that are weighty in every sense of the word. The first deals with life and art of the master and contains reproductions of practically all of his known paintings, 294 of them, in addition to those of a large number of drawings and of details of paintings; there follows an index according to places and to subjects. The second volume is made up of a careful transcription of contemporary documents concerning the artist and his family, an extremely detailed catalogue raisonné of 196 accepted paintings and their copies, 13 doubtful ones, 23 workshop pictures, 323 untraceable ones and 92 apocrypha, a very valuable

survey of pupils and imitators, concordances with the numbers of Hofstede de Groot and Plietzsch, an exhaustive index for both volumes, and 30 plates with important documentary and comparative material. It is an extraordinary fact that not one single drawing by Terborch can be clearly connected with any of his paintings.

The text considers in nine chapters Terborch's reputation in his own time and later on; childhood and family influences; apprenticeship; bachelor's journey; the years at Münster; formation of his own style; Deventer: years of the masterpieces; Deventer: last years; and his oeuvre in historical perspective. In clear, fluent prose—which is only very rarely marred by a tendency toward over-interpretation—the reader is enlightened beyond expectation about a personality in whom sobriety and restlessness are strangely mixed and whose life, although seemingly an open book when compared with that of a Buytewech or Honthorst, still remains obscure in many ways. The very precocious youngster, a clever draughtsman at the age of eight, grew up in provincial Zwolle but under the careful guidance of a proud father, who, himself a gifted amateur-artist, collected and inscribed Gerard's early drawings. From neighboring Kampen came inspiration for the young draughtsman through the works of Hendrick Avercamp. In Amsterdam as early as 1632, Terborch was deeply impressed by the genre paintings of Pieter Codde and Willem Duyster, as witnessed by his genre interiors, while early outdoor scenes followed the lead of Pieter Molijn and the van de Velde in Haarlem, and early portraits are reminiscent of Hendrick Pot. The still-life-like character of the mature works is already noticeable here. Journeys took the restless youth to England (1635-1636), where van Dyck and Cornelis Johnson impressed him most; to Spain and Italy (1637-1640 ?), where he admired Aniello Falcone, painted the strangely Goya-like "Flagellants," now in Rotterdam, and even portrayed King Philip IV; to the Southern Netherlands, where his genre compositions evince the influence of Brouwer; and probably to France, as is suggested by a strong dose of Sebastian Bourdon; although all the time his connection with Haarlem remained intimate. His cosmopolitan contacts (perhaps also his linguistic aptitude?) seem to have been instrumental in securing for him many commissions for portraits on the occasion of the Münster Peace Treaty negotiations; they culminated in the famous group portrait of 1648 in London, a small picture (on copper!) which still stands in the tradition of Pot, Teniers, and Jan Mytens, but far surpasses them in its amazing grasp of ungarnished reality. Gudlaugsson's account of the Münster years is a high point of his book

4. That this discussion has been occasionally over-extended, and the relationship to Luca Cambiaso neglected, was correctly stressed in B. Nicolson's review of the present book, *Burlington Magazine*, CII, 1960, pp. 80f.

5. On the vast issue of Honthorst's influence on other Caravaggists of the *Notti* type see now B. Nicolson, "The 'Candle-light Master,' a Follower of Honthorst in Rome," *Nederlands*

Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek, XI, 1960, pp. 121ff.

6. See on this amusing entry Gudlaugsson's *Ter Borch*, p. 3.

7. Terbrugghen's style of the Roman period has just been elucidated for the first time by the discovery of a work dating from the second decade; see B. Nicolson, *Burlington Magazine*, CII, 1960, pp. 465ff.

and a little masterpiece in the tradition of Carl Justi. From then on there were, with a few exceptions, only two themes in which Terborch, back in his native town of Zwolle and after 1654 a resident of Deventer, remained interested: portraiture and genre interiors. Everybody is familiar with masterpieces of this kind; but they offer many problems which Gudlaugsson's careful investigation often helps to solve: problems of chronology and of authenticity, particularly with regard to replicas of some of the most famous genre scenes. Stylistic analysis and consideration of exterior evidence and clues of all kinds must go hand in hand if reliable dates are to be obtained, and in both fields Gudlaugsson is a trustworthy guide, whose judgment will undoubtedly be upheld in most cases; the same is likely to be true of his decisions concerning the thorny question: "self-repetition or copy?"⁸ It is astonishing to see how the master, working in the "provincial" East, kept his art on an almost invariably high level at the same time when a Pieter de Hooch, working in cosmopolitan Amsterdam, suffered a swift deterioration of his. Echoes from Holland proper appear in Terborch's art (Rembrandt, some Leiden masters, later also Vermeer van Delft), but they are less conspicuous than echoes of his own art in those provinces, particularly with Metsu but also with Steen and the Delft masters (the earlier de Hooch, Vermeer). Caspar Netscher, who was Terborch's pupil about 1655-1659 and copied some of his works, transplanted his style to The Hague. About the same time, Terborch started employing various other workshop hands, and even Gudlaugsson's acumen is not always able to define clearly their role in replicas of the master's works. Among the portraits, some of the greatest jewels are, or can be, dated rather late, although this reviewer doubts whether the magnificent *Old Theologian* in the Lugt Collection (194) and the Detroit *Young Man Reading* (289) rightly belong at the very end of the corpus of reproductions; here, as in a few other cases, Gudlaugsson seems to have relied a bit too heavily on the "dating power" of a detail of costume.

These two handsomely bound volumes, of modest price, are sure to remain the basic work on the master for a long time to come. Just for this reason, it is to be hoped that the author will see fit to publish separately a chapter which this reviewer has missed in his otherwise so comprehensive monograph: a full account of the symbolic and emblematic aspects of Terborch's genre paintings. Gudlaugsson has made many extremely valuable statements and suggestions concerning these elements in his catalogue raisonné, and these could be gathered together without too much trouble.

The quality of the illustrations varies. Some are good,

the majority fair, but many are flat and murky, and the fault does not seem to lie with the photographs that were used. There are a number of misprints but these are not difficult to detect. Two small additions to the admirable catalogue are offered here: No. C 222 is, or was, in the collection of Ivar Hellberg in Stockholm (Cat. 1938, s.v., with a reproduction which does not speak for its authenticity); and no. D 38 was listed as an old copy after van Goyen in the Johnson Catalogue of 1941, p. 28.

WOLFGANG STECHOW
Oberlin College

BENEDICT NICOLSON, *Hendrick Terbrugghen*, London, Lund Humphries, 1958. Pp. 138; 111 pls. \$20.00.

This monograph is one of the splendid results of the revival of interest in Caravaggio and his followers. Not only does it follow a systematic approach to the subject, but it is also extremely well written. One is particularly impressed by the author's perceptive analysis, clearly the result of years of fruitful study, of a style that is difficult to define. The attentive reading which this monograph deserves is rewarded, time and again, by the author's sensitive reactions to Terbrugghen and by his careful estimates of the known facts.

The book begins with two short chapters: the first is a detailed discussion of Terbrugghen as an artist; the second is devoted to an ordering of the complicated documentation concerning the artist and an evaluation of Terbrugghen bibliography. The most important section of the book follows the form of a catalogue raisonné; here Nicolson's thorough investigation of authenticity, provenance, color, condition, bibliography, and comparative material are to be found. The catalogue raisonné, with "seventy-seven to eighty authentic works" (p. 42),¹ leads to four useful and once again thoroughly documented categories: *Doubtful Works*, *Lost Works*, *Copies of Lost Works*, and *Works Wrongly Attributed to Terbrugghen*. Nicolson has preferred to place these works in separate groups; because of the relatively small Terbrugghen oeuvre, this system works fairly well. However, by this separation, and by an alphabetical arrangement based upon present ownership, Nicolson sacrifices a sense of the scope of Terbrugghen's subject matter. For the specialist in the field—and one senses that the book is aimed in this direction—there will be little trouble; but for others this arrangement is difficult.² In any case, Nicolson carefully presents the facts and allows them to speak for themselves. He may suggest answers to some of the

8. On the Cologne version of the *Guardroom* (no. 94, 11) I am inclined to side against the author with E. Plietzsch (in his review of the present work, *Kunstchronik*, XIV, 1961, p. 139); in any case, the picture is rather poorly preserved.

1. A "p" in parentheses indicates Nicolson's page numbers. I shall also use Nicolson's lettering and numbering found in his catalogue raisonné and extended categories when referring

to the works in Nicolson's catalogue. After the first citation of a bibliographical reference, only the author's name will be cited; in the case of two publications by the same writer, a date will be added.

2. For further comments concerning this difficulty, see M. Kitson, "The Art of Terbrugghen," *The Burlington Magazine*, CI (1959), p. 110.

many Terbrugghen problems, but, in general, does not set himself up as the final judge. Problems are posed, discussed, and often left unanswered. The extensive catalogue and extended categories are followed by a *Bibliography* and an excellent set of plates illustrating the known oeuvre at the time of publication, as well as collateral material.

In the first Chapter, "The Art of Terbrugghen," Nicolson immediately directs our attention to the main problem in Terbrugghen, the complete lack of works from his youth.³ The earliest documented painting was executed in 1620, when Terbrugghen was thirty-two. Faced with this, as well as with the fact that most of the painter's dated paintings contained incomplete ciphers, Nicolson rises to the challenge and with success sets up a convincing tentative chronology, within which he invites discussion.⁴

In the beginning of his first Chapter (p. 4) the author recognizes and examines the well-known influence of Caravaggio and his followers upon the early Terbrugghen, but adds a new dimension by connecting Terbrugghen with Albrecht Dürer and Lucas van Leyden. Nicolson writes (p. 4) that "frequently in his first works we can detect, if not the precise forms, at any rate the spirit of Dürer, Lucas and their contemporaries emerging as a distant inheritance from behind Terbrugghen's Mediterranean upbringing, just as a blond Nordic child in Rome will nurse a fierce moroseness whilst willing to join in the gaiety of his dark playmates." In suggesting that Lucas and Dürer emerge "as a distant inheritance," the author seems to overlook that both men were very much a part of the development of northern art throughout the sixteenth century, their works constantly being used and copied by succeeding generations. This tradition was particularly strong around 1590 in the Northern Netherlands, when artists like Hendrick Goltzius, Jan Saenredam, and Jan Muller made prints after Dürer and Lucas.⁵ Goltzius and Muller not only made prints after both men but were also strongly influenced by them in their drawing style. It was not simply copying the works of old masters as an exercise but rather a very conscious interest, common to Bloemaert and Terbrugghen and a vital part of the Dutch tradition. Nicolson omits discussion of what was happening in Dutch art when Terbrugghen was a student. Not only could Terbrugghen have been stimulated in this direction during his student years at the turn of the century with Bloemaert, but he also could have felt it again in Caravaggio himself, who, as Walter Friedlaender

points out, must have known and studied the genre scenes, so different from the grand style in Rome, made by Lucas van Leyden, Jan van Hemessen, Quentin Massys and others.⁶ These half-length boisterous compositions, inspired by the North and reintroduced into Rome at the end of the sixteenth century, would have been a familiar element in Caravaggio's work, and therefore could have increased the young Terbrugghen's attraction to Caravaggio.

Nicolson ferrets out new and convincing connections with northern art of the early sixteenth century, but neglects Terbrugghen's immediate forerunners working around 1600—particularly those in the very active and important center of Haarlem. It seems likely that Haarlem, the main center for print-making at the end of the sixteenth century, supplied Terbrugghen with ideas for subject matter and composition. For this reviewer, it is quite surprising that such artists as Hendrick Goltzius, his pupil Jacques de Gheyn, and Cornelis van Haarlem are mentioned neither in the text nor in the catalogue raisonné. These three artists often used subject matter similar to Terbrugghen's. For example one might compare Terbrugghen's *Four Evangelists*, Stadhuis, Deventer (A 21-24) with the drawings and prints of this subject by Hendrick Goltzius and Jacques de Gheyn. Nicolson (p. 62) rightly calls attention to von Schneider's comparison of Terbrugghen and Caravaggio and discusses the "clay-like handling of the flesh" as being northern in tradition, but he loses a chance to make another analogy with Lucas van Leyden⁷ and the even more contemporary prints (1588) of this subject by Jacques de Gheyn after Hendrick Goltzius.⁸ These de Gheyn prints, although still partially *maniera* in style, consist, as do Terbrugghen's paintings, of half-length figures deep in concentration writing or holding books with their powerful hands. It seems to me that these prints and the drawing by Goltzius⁹ must be considered when discussing Terbrugghen's sources for this subject. One can see, once again, a combination of the new Italian ideas with those of the North, although in this case it is with the North just prior to 1600.¹⁰

This Terbrugghen-Haarlem connection can be seen further in prints which contain subjects analogous to those of Terbrugghen as well as to some earlier sixteenth century examples. Nicolson is certainly right in connecting the *Scene of Mercenary Love* (A 64) in Stockholm with the early sixteenth century, and particularly with the circle of Massys, but there is a closer source. Is not Terbrugghen working on a subject which was popular around 1600 with Goltzius and his

3. Nicolson ("Second Thoughts about Terbrugghen," *The Burlington Magazine*, CII [1960], pp. 465-473) has recently published new material concerning this problem, which I refer to briefly in footnote 42.

4. In terms of the development of this first chapter, it is a pity that a large part of the more detailed material is buried in the catalogue and not incorporated into the text.

5. For a list of the artists working after Lucas van Leyden in the Netherlands see F. W. H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings Engravings and Woodcuts*, Amsterdam, n.d., x, pp. 240-244.

6. W. Friedlaender, *Caravaggio Studies*, Princeton, N.J., 1955, pp. 81f.

7. Hollstein, x, p. 124, illustrated.

8. *Ibid.*, VII, p. 177, illustrated.

9. For an illustration see E. K. J. Reznicek, *Die Zeichnungen von Hendrick Goltzius (Utrechtse Kunsthistorische Studiën, VI)*, Utrecht, 1961, fig. 83.

10. Terbrugghen, in contrast to Caravaggio and his northern forerunners, dresses his Evangelists in antique costume, thereby giving a greater sense of historical truth.

followers? A similar spirit and composition in which a young woman holds off her elderly suitor as she smiles at the spectator is found in a print of 1597 by Jacob Goltzius after Hendrick.¹¹ This subject or close variants of it is found three years earlier in a painting of 1594 by Cornelis van Haarlem¹² and in a print by Jacques de Gheyn,¹³ whose works the young Terbrugghen certainly would have known as a pupil of Abraham Bloemaert.¹⁴

Of great interest is Nicolson's short but perceptive discussion of Dürer's *Christ Among the Doctors*, Thyssen Collection, Lugano (p. 4). He writes that "no actual pictures by Terbrugghen can be compared with Dürer's *Christ Among the Doctors* (a Baburen of the same subject in Oslo and a later Stomer in Munich are closer parallels than anything in Terbrugghen); yet that pattern of hands hemmed in by leering faces lives on in Terbrugghen's work, and the way in which sometimes eloquence or brutality of any kind will be transferred from a face to a hand, or the hidden heat of passion will curl up the pages of a book. . . ." This discussion of the hands deserves more attention than it receives in the text. Did Dürer and Terbrugghen use these hand gestures for the same purpose? Also, was there not a similar interest to be found much closer in time to Terbrugghen? It seems to me that Terbrugghen's hands are used for emotional and compositional purposes, while Dürer's hands possess a third and equally important significance, showing the moment when the speaker enumerates his arguments;¹⁵ these follow a line of development from Leonardo.¹⁶ Unfortunately, Nicolson, though he warns us in a footnote, buries further discussion of this problem in his catalogue entry (A 69) for the *Calling of St. Matthew*, where he cites the aforementioned Dürer analogy and quite rightly mentions Marinus van Reyerswaele as the more important (Northern) source for Terbrugghen. It is at this point that one wonders whether or not Terbrugghen could have obtained this interest in hands for compositional and emotional purposes from a more immediate source. At the end of the century, particularly in Haarlem, many ideas important for early seventeenth century Dutch art were developed by Goltzius, Cornelis van Haarlem, and van Mander, who later published these ideas in his widely read *Het Schil-*

der-Boeck, Haarlem [1603-]04. Nicolson rightly suggests that Terbrugghen might even have read van Mander's discussion of Caravaggio before leaving for Italy in 1604, but why should Terbrugghen have stopped with just this passage of the book? Van Mander devotes a whole section to the meaning of various hand gestures.¹⁷ Even if Terbrugghen did not see *Het Schilder-Boeck*, there is little doubt that the theories expressed there were well known to Bloemaert, Terbrugghen's teacher. Van Mander's theories are also evident in the work of Bloemaert's elder contemporary, Hendrick Goltzius; his beautifully and expressively drawn right hand in the Teyler Foundation, Haarlem, and his *Studies of a Hand*, Frankfurt,¹⁸ might be explained, in part, by van Mander's statement that the right hand signifies work.¹⁹ This interest in the symbolic meaning of hands and gestures as well as in their emotional and compositional possibilities can also be found in a number of Goltzius figure drawings, particularly the *St. Mark*, Albertina Collection, Vienna, and the 1588 *Hermit*, Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia, where the hands serve much the same function as do those of Dürer and Terbrugghen.²⁰

Dutch interest in hands is not only to be found in Haarlem but also in Amsterdam, in group portraiture. Aert Pietersz.'s 1599 *Wardens of the Cloth Guild*, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam,²¹ shows a similar use of hands to unite the figures and make them speak.

Nicolson again fails to consider models immediately preceding Terbrugghen in an otherwise excellent chronological structure (p. 9). One cannot simply explain the painter's "contemplative" *St. Jerome* (D 87), *Magdalen* (A 58), *Old Man Writing* (A 53), and "lecherous old man" in the *Scene of Mercenary Love* (A 64) as a return to the spirit of Erasmus and Dürer from the years 1505-1515. If one considers what was happening in Utrecht in the early 1620's, it appears unlikely and certainly unnecessary that Terbrugghen would have returned to earlier sixteenth century sources for inspiration. The contemplative spirit of the *Magdalen* and *Old Man Writing* is found in Utrecht in at least two prints by Cornelis Bloemaert after Abraham Bloemaert and in at least two chiaroscuro woodcuts also after Abraham Bloemaert.²² Honthorst, in his drawing done about 1624 of *Mary Mag-*

11. Hollstein, VIII, p. 140, illustrated.

12. For an illustration of Cornelis van Haarlem's *The Difficult Choice*, Gemäldegalerie, Dresden, see W. Stechow, "Cornelis van Haarlem en de Hollandsche Laat-Maniëristische Schilderkunst," *Elsevier's Geïllustreerd Maandschrift*, XLV (1935), pl. XVIII, fig. 7.

13. For an illustration see Hollstein, VII, p. 123.

14. For further connections between Haarlem and Terbrugghen see abbreviated comments concerning Nicolson's catalogue.

15. For a discussion of this tradition as represented in painting up to and after Leonardo see O. Chomentovskaja, "Le Comput Digital," *Gazette de Beaux-Arts*, XX (1938), pp. 157-172.

16. Of further interest is the comment of R. M. Harris who, in an unpublished paper, found that of the artists in the Caravaggio circle, the only one to use this scholastic gesture, so far as he could discover, was the master himself, in the second *St. Matthew*, San Luigi dei Francesi, Rome.

16. J. Bialostocki, "Opus Quinque Dierum": Dürer's *Christ Among the Doctors* and its Sources," *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, XXII (1959), p. 20.

17. C. van Mander, *Uitbeeldinge der figuren . . .*, Haarlem, 1604, fol. 132v.

18. E. J. K. Reznicek has been of great help in this matter.

19. van Mander, fol. 132v.

20. For illustrations see Reznicek, figs. 82 and 83. The 1588 *Hermit* bears a striking resemblance in the passionate gaze with deep set eyes, wrinkled brow and expressive hands to Terbrugghen's *St. Jerome*, Boymans Museum, Rotterdam (Nicolson, pl. 112).

21. For an illustration see A. Riegl, *Das Holländische Gruppenporträt*, Vienna, 1931, pl. 32.

22. For illustrations of the prints by Cornelis Bloemaert see F. G. Pariset, *Georges de La Tour*, Paris, 1948, pl. 11, figs. 1 and 2 and for the chiaroscuros after Abraham Bloemaert see Hollstein, II, p. 64.

dalen, Staatliche Kunstakademie, Düsseldorf,²³ was probably the source for the Bloemaerts, especially in the compositional relationship of the arm to the head. As for "the lecherous old man" in the *Scene of Mercenary Love* (A 64), again this type and composition do not necessarily look directly back to an Erasmus text or a Quentin Massys painting. Scenes representing decadent old men were extremely popular in the North, around 1600, for example in Jacques de Gheyn's *An Old Man Presenting Money to a Girl*²⁴ or Hendrick Goltzius' design for a similar subject engraved by Jacob Goltzius.²⁵

Nicolson has, on the other hand, examined Terbrugghen's Italian debt most successfully, very sensitively pondering Terbrugghen's dual heritage (p. 5): "This tendency to hover between two geographical extremes remains with him throughout life, and explains why one so single-minded can range over such a wide field, can surprise us by veering from drama to serenity, from classical repose to a Gothic twist." This aspect of the artist is discussed subtly throughout the first chapter. The author writes with an intellectual's open mind and a connoisseur's special feeling. In this way he presents a chronology, based on stylistic analysis and a few dated works, which is never oversimplified even though he works through a complicated development. His insights into Terbrugghen's growth are a major contribution. His thoughts concerning Terbrugghen's youthful interests in Rome are extremely perceptive. He sees Caravaggio primarily as a compositional source and the latter's followers, Gentileschi and Saraceni, as a stylistic one.

Nicolson attacks with insight and caution the connection between Terbrugghen, Serodine, and Strozzi after 1620 (pp. 10ff.), and the possibility of a second trip to Italy by Terbrugghen—a problem on which Nicolson quite rightly refuses to take a definite stand until further evidence is available. This problem could be simplified if the Turin *St. John the Evangelist* (A 68) and part of the *Christ at Emmaus* in Vienna (A 73) were eliminated from Terbrugghen's oeuvre. The artist's hand is not evident in the Vienna painting, not even on the right side, and to my mind the idea of some sort of collaboration with a North Italian seems out of the question. There is an affinity between Strozzi and Terbrugghen in their compositions

and both artists certainly must have used one common source: Caravaggio. Yet that does not necessarily mean that they knew each other. For these reasons and because I agree with the attribution by Longhi and Schoenenberger of the *St. John* in Turin to Serodine, a second trip to Italy seems very unlikely.

Following this, Nicolson discusses the numerous genre types executed by Terbrugghen and quite correctly says that a contact with Italy was not necessary and that the artist borrowed these types from Honthorst and Baburen (pp. 12f.). Terbrugghen's connection with Baburen, and, after the latter's death on February 21, 1624,²⁶ his turning toward Honthorst, are sensitively discussed. A connection with Honthorst seems clear as early as 1623.²⁷

Particularly fascinating is Nicolson's section on replicas, with his discovery of a replica of the Deventer *St. Mark* (A 22) underneath a painting of a *Boy Playing a Lute* (A 62). However, his explanation seems questionable (pp. 14ff.). That the turn to genre pictures was caused by a falling off of a demand in Utrecht for religious paintings with the end of the Twelve Years Truce is not really true. Utrecht was predominantly a Catholic city²⁸ and the people were allowed to worship in private chapels and in churches as long as the latter were hidden from public view.²⁹ When one studies the oeuvre of the Catholic Honthorst, for example, one finds that of the approximately seventy-three religious themes known from preserved and described works (this does not include the numerous replicas and copies) only about fourteen were executed in Italy.³⁰ Abraham Bloemaert, also a Catholic, seems to have been busy with religious themes during these years, and of the fifty-two autograph works known to Delbanco in 1928,³¹ eleven were religious paintings executed after 1621.³² Baburen's short artistic production after his return from Italy reflects a similar continued demand: at least a quarter of his autograph oeuvre is religious.³³ It may be that a large part of Terbrugghen's production from that time is still missing or perhaps more reasonably his style in painting such subjects was not appreciated. However, Nicolson is quite right when he writes that Terbrugghen's "finest qualities emerge when he could raise his subject-matter on to a moral plane" and that this is strongly evident in four of his very serious genre scenes

23. Illustrated in I. Budde, *Beschreibender Katalog der Handzeichnung en der Staatliche Kunstakademie Düsseldorf*, Düsseldorf, 1930, p. 136 n. 913.

24. Hollstein, VII, p. 123, illustrated.

25. *Ibid.*, VIII, p. 140, illustrated. Later in his text (p. 10), Nicolson does indicate that this subject belongs to a well established northern iconographic tradition of over one hundred years.

26. For some curious reason, Baburen's date of death has been overlooked by art historians, including myself, even though it is published in Centraal Museum, Utrecht, *Catalogus der Schilderijen*, 1952, p. 5.

27. See Nicolson, catalogue raisonné A 29.

28. That Utrecht was predominantly Catholic in the 1620's is corroborated by the Chief Archivist, City Archives, Utrecht, J. W. C. van Campen.

29. At least five of these hidden churches (schuilkerken) are

known to have existed in Utrecht in the late 1620's (A. E. Rientjes, *De Roomsche Kerken van Utrecht*, reprinted from the "Officieele Kerklijst," 1914-1920, no page numbers; the copy in the City Archives, Utrecht, has penciled in page numbers; see pages 43 and 335).

30. J. R. Judson, *Gerrit van Honthorst . . .*, The Hague, 1959, catalogue raisonné nos. 1-70.

31. G. Delbanco, *Der Maler Abraham Bloemaert (Studien zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte)*, Strasbourg, 1928, pp. 73-78.

32. The Delbanco lists have been expanded considerably since that time. G. Brom, *Herleving van de Kerkelijke Kunst in Katholiek Nederland*, Leiden, 1933, p. 23, describes Utrecht as a focal point for Dutch Counter-Reformation art and the home of the productive (Catholic) Bloemaert family.

33. L. Slatkes, who is preparing a study on Baburen, has been so kind as to provide me with this statistic.

and certainly in the subject-matter of his less sober genre paintings. That this moral content was based upon contemporary texts in which "drinking, smoking, dicing and even music-making were harshly condemned in the Northern Netherlands, especially from the second decade of the new century" seems debatable, as does his next statement that there might be some question of a Catholic representing such "puritanical doctrine." These actions (smoking was a relatively late comer) have been condemned by artists and writers since mediaeval times. For this reason, it seems that Terbrugghen's Catholicism could not have determined his rejection or acceptance of such themes; also in the early seventeenth century there was no appreciable change in the moral attitude towards these actions, an attitude which continues a long tradition. I agree, however, that these genre scenes, even the most theatrical, could have a moral if not religious meaning. I have found this point substantiated by Ludolph Businck's 1630 print of a theatrically clothed *Lute Player* with the following text, which seems to be a free compilation of several Psalms:³⁴ "Praise the Lord with strings. Sing and praise his holy name."³⁵

This first chapter ends (pp. 23f.) with a fine and suggestive discussion of the relationships between Terbrugghen, La Tour, and Vermeer, which deserves the reader's special attention.

Nicolson's second and last chapter, *Biography and History of Criticism*, presents a unified, and for the first time, clear evaluation of the known documents and literary sources, elucidating in particular the complications of the seventeenth and eighteenth century. The author tentatively suggests that Sandrart's adverse statements about Terbrugghen in his *Teutsche Academie* of 1675³⁶ were prejudiced by the writer's teacher, Honthorst, who, Nicolson writes, may well have had "a hostile attitude . . . of the more successful painter who nonetheless suspects that his rival possesses superior qualities of refinement and subtlety." That there was any hostility between Honthorst and Terbrugghen

seems highly unlikely. I doubt whether the leading circle of artists and intellectuals in Utrecht ever had Terbrugghen much on their minds, for as Nicolson points out (p. 22), Terbrugghen isolated himself from the contemporary scene as well as from its changes in artistic taste. This unwillingness of Terbrugghen to participate in the new stylistic ideas of the time seems also to be coupled with his possible isolation from the fashionable intellectual circles (of which various artists including Honthorst and Bloemaert were members) existing in Utrecht in the 1620's. This possibility is strengthened, in my mind, by Aernout van Buchell's preserved writings. This Utrecht lawyer and art connoisseur mentions Terbrugghen in his notes (not diary as Nicolson states) on artists; in the fragments of his diary, preserved in the University Library, Utrecht, nothing is mentioned about Terbrugghen. This diary, published by J.W.C. van Campen,³⁷ mentions numerous artists.³⁸ Had Terbrugghen been part of this intellectual circle, or considered by them to have been interesting in any way, one would think that at least some mention of his death would have been given in the November 1629 entries, which are, fortunately, preserved. Buchell writes about an event occurring on November 7 and another on November 11 but ignores Terbrugghen's death on November 9.³⁹

There is an omission, in this otherwise excellent chapter, of an interesting suggestion, first proposed by H. F. Wijnman,⁴⁰ that Judith Leyster was a pupil of Terbrugghen. Her father had moved from Haarlem to Vreeland, near Utrecht, in 1628, and her works from the 1620's show a strong connection with Utrecht. Wijnman suggests that because of a stylistic connection with Terbrugghen, Leyster's youthful works come from 1628 and not from the years 1620-1625 as published by J. Harms.⁴¹ There are, without doubt, connections between Leyster and Utrecht.⁴²

In sum, Nicolson has made an excellent contribution to northern Caravaggio studies, to be praised not only for its scholarship but also for its prose. The

34. Ps. 33:150.

35. For an illustration see F. W. H. Hollstein, *German Engravings Etchings and Woodcuts, 1400-1700*, Amsterdam, n.d., v, p. 186.

36. J. von Sandrart, *Teutsche Academie der Bau-, Bild- und Mahlerer-Künste*, Nuremberg, 1675, p. 308.

37. *Notae Quotidianae van Aernout van Buchell*, Utrecht, 1940. I am indebted to J. G. van Gelder for bringing this little known but important publication to my attention.

38. For example, in a very interesting passage (*ibid.*, pp. 1f.), van Buchell writes that on July 26, 1620, Moreelse, Bloemaert, van de Passe, Gijsbert van Vianen, and Vollenhoven met in the house of Honthorst (on the Goose Market) who had just returned from Rome and who was praised for his painting. Also present were the brothers Colijn with a son, a painter who had just returned from Rome, and Adam [perhaps Adam van Vianen or Adam Willaerts according to the editor, van Campen]. They praised highly the art and genius of Rubens, and they maintained that he had profited more from good fortune than from industry [in art]. [J. A. Emmens, who is preparing a study on Dutch art theory and Rembrandt, suggests, following the seventeenth century interpretation of the words good fortune and industry, that this last sentence probably means that Rubens in his painting bene-

fited more from "happiness" than "care."] They showed several engravings after his works by a certain Vorsterman, engravings that were made in Rubens' house. But they were sold at all too high a price because the minimum price for a half folio sheet is . . . gulden.

This passage cannot only be cited for the Terbrugghen argument, but is also important for verifying Honthorst's return to Utrecht in the summer of 1620 and the latter's contact with Rubens at an early date—perhaps even further pointing to a visit by Honthorst to Antwerp sometime either on his way to or back from Italy (Judson, pp. xix and 7f.). I am indebted to J. A. Emmens for his help in translating and interpreting this passage.

39. van Campen, pp. 12f.

40. "Het geboortjaar van Judith Leyster," *Oud-Holland*, XLIX (1932), p. 65.

41. "Judith Leyster. Ihr Leben und ihr Werk, II," *Oud-Holland*, XLIV (1927), pp. 119f.

42. The possible teacher-pupil relationship between Terbrugghen and Leyster is also cited in Utrecht, Centraal Museum, *Caravaggio en de Nederlanden; catalogus; Utrecht, Centraal Museum, 15 Juni-3 Augustus; Antwerpen, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, 10 Augustus-28 September, 1952*, p. 34.

minor points of disagreement that have been mentioned, in no way detract from my enthusiasm for the whole. The comments that now follow are additions to, corrections of, or disagreements with the catalogue that forms the splendid heart of the book.⁴³

A 2, *Incredulity of St. Thomas*. See L. Salerno, "The Picture Gallery of Vincenzo Giustiniani," *The Burlington Magazine*, cii (1960), p. 135, where the attribution of the Potsdam *Doubting Thomas* to Caravaggio is confirmed.

A 3, *Democritus*, A 4, *Heraclitus*. See A. von Schneider, *Caravaggio und die Niederländer*, Marburg/Lahn, 1933, p. 65, for possible influence of these paintings upon Judith Leyster.

A 7, *Esau Selling His Birthright*. As New York art market but now Bob Jones University Collection, Greenville, South Carolina. One might also add that the head of the old woman also reflects Honthorst of the early 1620's (see Judson, figs. 19 and 27).

A 11, *Luteplayer and Girl with Glass*. The tight arrangement of the half-length figures with their lascivious overtones bears a striking resemblance to Goltzius' half-length couples illustrating the five senses; one wonders whether or not we might not have still another connection with Terbrugghen's fore-runners. The prominent position of the glass in the Terbrugghen makes one think of the sense of taste. For illustrations of the Goltzius drawings see Reznicek, catalogue raisonné K 167-170, figs. 305-308. For the Jan Saenredam prints after Goltzius see Hollstein, viii, p. 136, nos. 380-384.

A 12, *Beheading of St. John the Baptist*. For still another connection with Lucas van Leyden see the print of the same subject from 1513 (Hollstein, x, p. 133, illustrated).

A 13, *Pilate Washing His Hands*. I cannot accept this painting as an original by Terbrugghen because of the heaviness and crudeness in the rendering of details such as Pilate's turban, the arm of the man pouring from the pitcher, the hands and the draperies. I should judge it to be by a close follower. A comparison with the *Beheading of St. John the Baptist* (A 12), executed about the same time, according to Nicolson, convinces this reviewer that the Cassel painting is not autograph.

A 16, *Jacob, Laban and Leah* (?). See von Schneider, pp. 64f., who writes that Leyster's *Still Life*, Collection F. J. E. Horstmann, Wassenaar (The Hague),

reminds him of the Caravaggesque still life in Terbrugghen's Bible scenes. Considering the possible connections between Utrecht and Frans Hals, this Leyster influence from Utrecht is not at all impossible. It also seems to have existed with Honthorst (see Judson, p. 167).

A 17, A 55, *Bagpipe Player*. That this subject finds its source in the realistic drawings of the Carracci is quite possible (cf. the drawing attributed to Annibale Carracci of the *Bagpiper*, British Museum, London, (no. 1923-4-17-9) (Judson, p. 83, n. 1) or in the works of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in the North as evident in the 1508 half-length drawing of a *Bagpiper*, Collection H. Drey, London (Reznicek, catalogue raisonné K. 178, fig. 317) and his so-called unfinished 1605 etching, possibly after Lucas van Leyden (Hollstein, viii, p. 84, illustrated). The subject, judging from Cornelis Bloemaert's engraving after a painting by Abraham Bloemaert (Hollstein, ii, p. 81 n. 291, illustrated), seems to have moral overtones. A translation of the two poems, one in Latin and the other in Dutch, on the engraving, for which I am thankful to J. Bruyn, reads roughly "Never will hot sweat smell well to this nose as long as it pleases peasants to play the bagpipes." The Dutch text has the same moral content: "I do not like to plough or dig as I can earn money in this way."

A 18, A 45, *Crowning with thorns, Beheading of St. Catherine*. A second Baburen *Crowning* exists in the Collection P. J. B. Drury-Lowe, Locko Park (Derbyshire). (For an illustration see E. K. Waterhouse, "Some Notes on the Exhibition of 'Works of Art from Midland Houses' at Birmingham," *The Burlington Magazine*, vc [1953], pp. 305-309, fig. 29.) On the question of turbans and their possible derivation from Lastman or Italian artists, it seems, contrary to my earlier thoughts, that they were very much a part of Dutch art from the time of Jan van Scorel and can be found everywhere in the sixteenth century in prints and paintings.

A 19, *Liberation of St. Peter*. The acceptance of the idea that "the emotion on Peter's face belongs to that purely Italian pathos which spread to Holland under the influence of the Utrecht School" seems unlikely when one considers the works of Hendrick Goltzius, Jan Muller, Jacques de Gheyn, Abraham Bloemaert and the Apostles in Dirck Barendsz.'s ca. 1565 Gouda *Altarpiece*. E. Reznicek has been so kind as to point

43. Before he reads these comments, I should like to call the reader's attention, once again, to Nicolson's article in *The Burlington Magazine*, cii (1960), pp. 465-473. Though it is not the task of a reviewer to comment on succeeding articles in a review of a monograph, I cannot resist the temptation if only for a few sentences. The *Crowning of Thorns*, Mr. E. Speelman, London, cannot, as far as I can see, be an original early Terbrugghen but seems to be by a follower of Valentin. Because of the poor quality and a composition inconsistent with Terbrugghen's artistic personality, this painting seems to have little to do with the young Terbrugghen. It is astonishingly close to several paintings of the same subject attributed to Valentin. One of these paintings, in the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich (no. 188/4814, canvas: 128 x 95 cm.), has the same vertical format; there is also a

striking resemblance in the gestures and position of the mocking soldier in the lower left corner and in the actions of the figure placing the thorns on Christ's head, which is simply reversed in the Speelman painting. When one sees this Valentin figure standing above Christ and applying pressure to the thorns, it is hard to believe Nicolson's proposal that this same figure in the Speelman picture is a self-portrait. This figure type and the one in the lower left are also found in the horizontally composed painting in the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich (for this and other obvious connections with the Valentin see the illustration in H. Voss, *Die Malerei des Barock in Rom*, Berlin [1924], p. 102).

This note was written before the appearance of R. Longhi, "Terbrugghen e Valentin," *Paragone*, cxxxii, November 1960, pp. 57-60, figs. 43 and 44.

out Chapter VI in C. van Mander, *Den Grondt der Edel Vry Schilder-Const*, Alkmaar, 1603, which deals in detail with the emotional representation of the face.

A 26, A 43, *Singing Lute Player*. A very good copy, perhaps even upon examination an autograph replica, was exhibited as Honthorst from the Collection W. Konow, Copenhagen, in Copenhagen, Royal Museum, *Katalog over aeldre udenlandske Malerier fra Privateje udstillede i Statens Museum for Kunst*, October 1946, n. 55 (canvas: 106 x 87 cm.).

A 27, *Boy Singing*. The gesture of the right arm raised and the left supporting a music book is found in Utrecht in Honthorst's 1622 *Musical Ceiling*, F. Stonor Collection, London, and in the 1623 *Musical Group by Candlelight*, Kronborg Castle, Elsinore (see Judson, figs. 24 and 25). The raising of the right hand with the palm and fingers highlighted also adds emotional and decorative elements, which one often finds in Honthorst beginning with his Italian period (see Judson, figs. 12, 17, 21 and 27), which very likely served as the source for Terbrugghen.

A 38, *Concert*. A later copy was formerly in the collections Tolstoi, Odessa, and B. I. Sergejef, Geneva, canvas: 92 x 79 cm. The copyist omitted the music and placed coins on the table.

A 41, A 74, *Singing Young Woman Tuning a Lute*. Could the subject matter of these two paintings have anything to do with the subject rendered in Hendrick Goltzius' drawing of a *Female Lute Player* (see Reznicek, fig. 233), Boymans Museum, Rotterdam, representing the sense of hearing?

A 44, *Sleeping Mars*. This painting seems to be a copy after Terbrugghen, and as far as I can see, shows nothing of the artist's hand. The picture is much too weak and flat for Terbrugghen and lacks the spontaneity and sparkle found in the Utrecht panel (A 71) of this same subject.

A 46, *Man with Large Dog*. It seems, on the basis of prints, that this subject might be explained as one of the five senses—perhaps taste. In a print representing *Smell* by Jan Saenredam after Hendrick Goltzius (Hollstein, VIII, p. 136, nos. 380-386), a dog is present, as in Claes Cock's print after a Hendrick Goltzius drawing of the same subject in a Private Collection, N.Y. (see Reznicek, catalogue raisonné K177, fig. 61).

A 49, *Crucifixion With Mary and St. John*. Considering the numerous private chapels and hidden churches that must have existed in the preponderantly Catholic Utrecht of the seventeenth century, there is little reason to doubt that the Metropolitan Museum *Crucifixion* was ordered as an altar decoration, perhaps even as a replacement for a fifteenth century altarpiece, which would explain the steep perspective. The use of stars makes one think of German painting of the fifteenth century (cf. for example the Cologne Master of the early fifteenth century, *Crucifixion*, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne—for an illustration see Wallraf-Richartz-Museum der Hansestädte Köln, *Die Gemälde der Äldeutschen Meister*, I, 1939, p. 59), although stars can also be found in Dutch panel paint-

ing of the same period (cf. Unknown Dutch Master, ca. 1430, *Crucifixion*, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, on a panel from the story of the Saviour—illustrated in H. Gerson, *Van Geertgen tot Frans Hals, De Schoonheid van ons Land*, Amsterdam, 1950, fig. 2). Because of the sharp perspective, the "harsh juxtaposition of reds and greens" in John's drapery, which is typical of the fifteenth century, as pointed out by J. Bruyn, and the connections in the composition with the late mediaeval period, I would propose that Terbrugghen's altarpiece might very well find its source in fifteenth century German or Dutch panel painting rather than in the woodcuts cited by C. Virch, "The Crucifixion by Hendrick Terbrugghen," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, XVI (1957-58), pp. 223f., to which more examples can be added. However, Nicolson's perceptive comments concerning Grünewald cannot be denied. Perhaps a careful study of German fifteenth century panel painting would reveal a precise prototype which the Metropolitan painting might have been based on and afterwards replaced.

A 50, *David Saluted by the Women*. As far as I can see, there are closer connections between this and the print by Lucas van Leyden (Hollstein, x, p. 78, illustrated), than the similarity of subject. Terbrugghen's David, dressed in an early sixteenth century costume often used by Lucas, the pensive attitude of David, the heavy sword resting on his shoulder emphasizing the somberness of the moment, and the carefully rendered detail of Goliath's head, which is held by the hair, bear a close resemblance to Lucas. This proximity to Lucas can also be felt in the atmosphere of Terbrugghen's painting although he has changed the composition. It is also of more than passing interest to note that the Lucas print seems to have been very popular ca. 1600. It was copied by Jan Saenredam (as noted in von Schneider, p. 43, note 10) in a signed and dated print of 1600 by P. de Jode, whose composition reverses the Saenredam (Hollstein, x, pp. 241 n. 36; 242 n. 63) and by C. van Sichem (Hollstein, x, p. 242 n. 66).

A 52, *The Gamblers*. Lucas van Leyden, Kress Collection, National Gallery, Washington, D.C., is very likely a later sixteenth century copy. Nicolson's statement that in addition to going back to Lucas van Leyden, dice and card games "were also developed in the second decade of the seventeenth century from representations, now divorced from their religious context, of gambling for Christ's clothes at the foot of the Cross" is incomplete. One wonders what type of examples he has in mind. This type of scene can be found everywhere in sixteenth century northern prints, woodcuts and paintings often illustrating the prodigal son theme or a moral comment against such actions.

A 53, *Old Man Writing*. For a similar type of old man writing, see Lucas van Leyden's drawing of an *Old Man Writing*, British Museum, London (for an illustration see J. G. van Gelder, *Dutch Drawings and Prints*, New York, 1959, fig. 12) and a second example in the Print Room, Berlin (see E. Bock-J.

Rosenberg [Berliner Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett], *Die Niederländischen Meister; beschreibendes Verzeichnis sämtlicher Zeichnungen* . . . , Berlin, 1930, pl. 31 n. 4021).

A 56, *Luteplayer and Singer*. For a similar subject, though the figures are full length and seated under a tree, see the drawing for a print by Hendrick Goltzius representing *Spring*, Collection N. Beets, Amsterdam (Reznicek, catalogue raisonné K 155, fig. 304). Because of the resemblance in attitude and content, I should like to suggest that the Terbrugghen might find its source in something like the Goltzius and might even have the same meaning. For the print by Jan Saenredam after Goltzius see Hollstein, VIII, p. 135, nos. 372-375.

A 58, *Magdalen*. Also see Honthorst's use of the lost Caravaggio *Magdalen* type in his Leipzig drawing and a copy of a lost Honthorst representing a *Flea Hunt* (Judson, catalogue raisonné nos. 178c., 246, fig. 48).

A 61, *Liberation of St. Peter*. Also cited in Schwerin Catalogue of 1890 as no. 1014.

A 64, *Scene of Mercenary Love*. Because of other connections with Lucas, perhaps his 1520 *Fool and the Woman* (Hollstein, x, p. 170, illustrated) has something to do with Terbrugghen's painting—not only simply in the choice of subject—though I see more of a connection with Hendrick Goltzius and Cornelis van Haarlem. Jan Bijlert has executed a signed painting of this subject (Stichting Nederlands Kunstbezit, 1950, n. 671).

A 65, *Boy Playing Stringed Instrument and Singing*. The preparatory drawing for the Verkolje print is in the Print Room, National Gallery, Oslo.

A 69, *Calling of St. Matthew*. Very likely acquired from Goudstikker, Amsterdam. The Marinus van Reyerswaele type with the table cluttered with books, papers and money, and gesticulating figures, though full length and dressed in heavy robes, can be found in Jacques de Gheyn's print of *Two Misers Surprised by Death* (Hollstein, VII, p. 129 n. 111, illustrated). J. Bruyn has pointed out the similarity of the de Gheyn composition to Jan Provost's wings in the City Museum, Bruges.

A 70, *Lazarus and the Rich Man*. Nicolson is quite right, as far as I can see, in finding no connection with Saraceni regarding the dogs. Actually, the presence of dogs sniffing Lazarus' bandaged leg has a long tradition in the North. For example the woodcut of Cornelis Anthonisz., the drawing by Bernard van Orley, British Museum, London, or Jan Swart's drawing in the Print Room, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

A 71, *Sleeping Mars*. The date of 1624 appeared quite legible in a recent examination of the painting by this reviewer. In any case Nicolson's date of 1623-1625 based on relations to "pictures of games-players" can be further substantiated by the proximity in color and light with the 1625 *Lazarus and the Rich Man* (A 70).

A 73, *Christ at Emmaus*. I can see no connection between the still life in the Vienna painting and the Terbrugghen in London (A 40). The Vienna still life (Nicolson, pl. 82) is much more detailed and is in quite another style from the very broad, painterly brush found in London (Nicolson, pl. 83).

A 75, *Mater Dolorosa*. Could there be any connection between this painting and Titian's compositions of the same subject in the Prado, Madrid?

A 77, *King David Harping, Surrounded by Angels*. It is very difficult for me to accept the painting in the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, as a copy. Though there are several slight changes when one compares this with the Warsaw picture, the quality of the brush, the light, the rendering of the details, particularly David's robe, and the colors are typically Terbrugghen. More than one painting of a single theme by Terbrugghen seems to be usual, as Nicolson has clearly indicated with regard to other subjects.

D 90, *Penitent St. Peter*. This painting was sold at auction, The Hague (van Stockum), July 28-31, 1943, n. 58, as signed and dated 1616 and seems to have been "bought in" by the owner.

The composition closely resembles a Goltzius drawing of the same subject in the Print Room, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (Reznicek, fig. 107 and for an illustration of the 1589 print after the drawing see Hollstein, VIII, p. 12).

E 103, *Old Woman Holding Spectacles*. This painting seems very close to a signed Bijlert, Collection Sir Gyles Isham, representing an *Old Woman Holding a Glass*. From the poor photograph of the Bijlert at my disposal, it does not seem likely that the anonymous artist influenced by Terbrugghen (E 103) can be Bijlert. It does appear probable that both artists reflect a lost series of the *Five Senses* by Terbrugghen. To further complicate matters, the dimensions of the Bijlert are unknown to me.

J. RICHARD JUDSON
Smith College

Abraham van der Doort's Catalogue of the Collections of Charles I, edited with an introduction by Oliver Millar (The Walpole Society volume 37, 1958-1960). Pp. 256; 6 pls. (issued only to subscribers)

Charles I was the most enlightened and enthusiastic royal patron the arts have ever enjoyed in England. His court, in spite of impending political disaster, was renowned throughout Europe as a center of discriminating patronage. Even Rubens, who could be a rather exacting critic in such matters, remarked in a letter of 1629 from London to his friend the scholar Peiresc: "Certainly in this island I find none of the crudeness which one might expect from a place so remote from Italian elegance. And I must admit that when it comes to fine pictures by the hands of first-class masters, I have never seen such a large number in one place as

in the royal palace and in the gallery of the late Duke of Buckingham."¹

While the general outlines of artistic activity at the court of Charles I are clear enough, the details (especially of the interrelationships between the principal actors) remain to be worked out. The much debated question of Van Dyck's English style; the character of the later work of Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones; the music of Henry Lawes; cavalier poetry; all of these artistic phenomena were centered on the court. Hovering over the whole milieu was the personality of Charles himself, and the truly magnificent collection of works of art he assembled.

The necessary documentation for the detailed study of artistic activities at the court has not been generally available. Much, of course, is lost; but much remains patiently awaiting the attention of the archivist and art historian. Probably the most important of these documents is the catalogue of the royal collection, and it is this to which the 1958-1960 volume of the Walpole Society is devoted.

The Walpole Society is concerned primarily with the publication of documents for the study of British art. The major achievement of the society thus far has been the printing of a monumental edition of the Vertue papers in seven volumes. The present publication follows in the same tradition, maintaining the same high standards of editing and printing. The service to scholarship performed in getting these essential documents into print can hardly be overestimated, and the Walpole Society deserves the enthusiastic support of all institutions and individuals even remotely concerned with the history of British art.

The principal catalogues of the collection of Charles I were made by Abraham van der Doort, a craftsman of Dutch origin who appears to have come to England in 1609, and to have remained in royal service, first to Prince Henry and then to Charles, from shortly thereafter until his death by suicide in 1640. His special interest was coins and medals, and he had much to do with the design of Charles's coinage. He was also Keeper of the King's Cabinet Room and Overseer or Surveyor of the royal picture collection. One of van der Doort's designated responsibilities was to keep a register of the collection, and it is this inventory that is transcribed in the volume under review.

The inventory survives in four manuscripts, two in the Bodleian, one at Windsor and one in the British Museum. Only one of these manuscripts (Bodleian ms Ashmole 1514) is near to being complete as a catalogue of the royal collection. The other three are, for the most part, simply fair copies of sections from Ashmole 1514. Ashmole 1514 appears to have been van der Doort's working copy of the catalogue, containing his own corrections and emendations. The others may have been made for the use of the king, as they are carefully copied and more elaborately bound. The

manuscripts may be firmly dated to the last years of the 1630's, and thus represent the king's collections at their height, on the eve of the Civil War.

Mr. Oliver Millar's edition of the catalogue is based on a careful study of all four manuscripts and includes a collation of significant differences between them. In addition, Mr. Millar has studied a fifth manuscript catalogue covering a major portion of the collection. This catalogue (in the Victoria and Albert Museum) was not made by van der Doort or copied from his inventory. The entries are more summary in character, but there are occasionally significant departures from the van der Doort catalogue. These again have been carefully noted by Mr. Millar in an appendix. The actual van der Doort inventory (running through two hundred printed pages) consists of a fairly detailed description of each object in the collection, normally including the size (in feet and inches) and some indication of attribution and how the object was acquired.

Heretofore our primary source of knowledge concerning Charles's collection has been a volume printed in 1757 for William Bathoe entitled *A Catalogue and Description of King Charles the First's capital collection of Pictures, Limnings, Statues, Bronzes, Medals and other Curiosities now first published from an Original Manuscript in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. The whole transcribed and prepared for the Press, and a great part of it printed, by the late ingenious Mr. Vertue, and now finished from his Papers.* This publication used the two manuscripts now in the Bodleian, and it does in fact cover most of the material in the new edition. Certainly the 1757 transcription will not pass the exacting standards imposed by modern scholarship on such tasks, and it has been completely superseded in all respects by the new edition. Nevertheless, by eighteenth century standards it was both fairly complete and reasonably accurate, and it is hardly deserving of the rather uncharitable remarks with which Mr. Millar dismisses it.

The tasks of transcribing the manuscripts afresh and conveying these transcriptions into print were both Herculean undertakings that deserve high praise and sincere thanks. The job of simply reading the manuscripts, especially the corrections and additions made in van der Doort's own hand, has defied all earlier assaults. Indeed some of the first attempts to transcribe the material were abandoned with the conclusion that van der Doort's remarks were in German. He was apparently writing English, but it is evident he never mastered either the grammar or the spelling, and frequently the only way one can grasp his meaning is by reading phonetically. Mr. Millar has not attempted to correct either spelling or syntax. As a result there are many passages that have a very strange appearance on the page, but the sense of the matter is usually clear enough. The basic difficulty would seem to have been with van der Doort's handwriting. All students will

1. *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens*, trans. and ed. Ruth Saunders Magurn, Cambridge, Mass., 1955, p. 322.

be very grateful to Mr. Millar for wrestling with and mastering these cryptograms so that they are now readily decipherable in print.

The job of setting the copy in type must have been formidable, and the printer is to be congratulated in making a book of handsome appearance out of what was surely a typographical headache. It is very difficult to understand (especially from the American side of the Atlantic) how such a volume can be distributed at the incredibly low price of two successive annual subscriptions of one guinea each.

Mr. Millar holds the scholarly apparatus with which he surrounds his text to a minimum. The ten pages of introduction contain a biographical account of van der Doort, a brief description of the four manuscripts on which the text is based, notes on the 1757 edition and on the technical problems involved in the present edition. In seven pages of annotation or commentary at the end of the volume Mr. Millar indicates the present whereabouts of such objects from the collection as are known to him. The book is equipped with a good index and a system of cross-references that make it easy to use as the reference tool it is intended to be. The editor has aimed at a clear presentation of the inventory with only such additional information as is essential for the reading of the text. Within these limits the performance could hardly be better and leaves virtually nothing to be desired.

But I am sure Mr. Millar would be the first to express disappointment and dismay if it were thought that his edition of the van der Doort catalogue has settled all problems in connection with the collection of Charles I. He has provided an admirable foundation on which studies of the collection may build, and one hopes only that anyone so eminently well equipped as he is will pursue these researches further. One would like to know much more than is included in van der Doort's brief comments about the formation of the collection, the sources from which the objects came, and the means by which they were acquired. A general analysis of the contents of the collection, aiming towards understanding the taste that motivated its formation, would be of great value. The task of tracing the subsequent history of objects in the collection is endless. On this problem Mr. Millar has made a splendid initial attack in his "Commentary," but (as he readily points out) much remains to be done.

A minor addition that may be offered to the identifications made by Mr. Millar concerns the group of "florentine brazen statuas" (pp. 92ff.) that figure prominently in the inventory of the Cabinet Room, the sanctum sanctorum of Charles's collection. Here van der Doort's descriptions are sufficiently detailed that even lacking attributions from him many of the objects may be fairly convincingly identified with known models of late sixteenth century bronzes. To be sure, we

cannot now say which particular casts were in the royal collection, for all the models exist in many versions, but it is worth something to know simply the designs. Many of these appear to be the work of Giovanni Bologna, a fact that is not particularly surprising, especially as a group of small bronzes by Giovanni Bologna or after his designs is known to have been dispatched to the English court by Cosimo II early in the seventeenth century.² Number 22 of the statuettes in the Cabinet Room, "a Centaure Carrying Dianera violently away houlding her shoulder with his right hand, and wth his left hand houlding her with some drapery about her, shee struggling wth her right hand upwards and tho'ther downewards. 1 foot 4 inches" is clearly a cast of Giovanni Bologna's well-known group of which a signed version is now in the Huntington Art Gallery.³ The height given corresponds within the half inch to that of most known casts of the group. Number 11 "a kneeling woeman tourning her selfe to looke upwards to hide her selfe with some drapery, holding with her left hand the said drapery to cover her with—and wth her right hand upon her breast, upon a high black ebbone peddistall 9-1/2 inches" is very probably, although not quite so certainly, a cast of the so-called "Crouching Venus."⁴ Number 8 "a standing naked woeman tourning to leane wth her left hand upon some Peddistall whereon a drapery and a round ball under her right foote upon a black ebbone woodden high Peddistall 1 foot 2 inches" corresponds closely to the so-called "Astronomy"⁵ except for the disposition of the feet. Interestingly enough, however, the description of this same statuette in the Victoria and Albert manuscript reads "A Woeman standing on her right legge, leaneing on her right ellbowe a round Ball under her left foote." Here the disposition of the feet is correctly described, and the combination of the two entries otherwise fits "Astronomy" perfectly. Number 13 is surely a cast of Dhanens, fig. 100; number 9 probably a cast of Dhanens, fig. 89. With number 16 van der Doort seems again to be confused about right and left hands, but the alternative description of the same statuette in the Victoria and Albert Museum ms. fits clearly with Dhanens, fig. 23. The various descriptions of number 14 show interesting and illuminating discrepancies. In Mr. Millar's edition of van der Doort the description reads "a strugling mercurie standing upon one legg without streatched armes like as if he were ready to fly. . . ." The 1757 edition reads "a stretching Mercury standing. . . ." The description in the Victoria and Albert manuscript reads "A Mercury standing on his left legge pointing upwards with his right hand. . . ." There would seem little reason to doubt that we are here dealing with some sort of version of Giovanni Bologna's "Mercury," but the differences in describing the same object are a little disquieting. Indeed if the identifications here suggested

2. Elisabeth Dhanens, *Jean Boulogne*, Brussels, 1956, p. 62.

3. R. R. Wark, *Sculpture in the Huntington Collection* [San Marino, Cal., 1959], pls. VI-VIII and pp. 63-64.

4. *Ibid.*, pl. v and p. 63; Dhanens, fig. 22.

5. Dhanens, fig. 84.

for some of the bronze statuettes are correct then one is not particularly reassured about the detailed accuracy of van der Doort's descriptions. It is fortunate that there is at least one other independent catalogue against which we can test his entries, and particularly fortunate that Mr. Millar had the foresight to include a collation of this with the other manuscripts in his edition of the van der Doort inventory.

The volume, as Mr. Millar presents it, is an indispensable tool for all students of collecting and the history of taste. In addition it will provide a happy hunting ground for museum curators or art historians hoping to establish a distinguished provenance for sixteenth and early seventeenth century works of art. One is confident also that it will prove an important foundation for future studies directed toward even fuller understanding of one of the most remarkable moments in the history of the arts in England.

ROBERT R. WARK
Henry E. Huntington Library
and Art Gallery

FRITZ NOVOTNY, *Painting and Sculpture in Europe, 1780-1880* (The Pelican History of Art), Penguin Books, London, 1960. Pp. 288; 192 pls.; 22 text figures. \$12.50.

MARCEL BRION, *Romantic Art*, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1960. Pp. 240; 64 color plates, 166 monochrome illustrations. \$25.00.

Provincialism and national pride continue to handicap the study of nineteenth century art. The French, with some justification, feel that the century belongs to their painters; the English claim a share in this glory, without gaining full recognition; the Germans cultivate their own separate garden with quiet intensity; the Italians, Austrians, Danes, Swiss and Norwegians tend to their smaller bowers; while in the outer reaches Americans and Russians hold fast to their bleak terrains, self-absorbed and ignored by the rest. The French have shown little curiosity about English and none about German art. The Germans have vainly tried to fit French artists into the categories of style which they have devised for their own—between the German and French notions of "romanticism" and "naturalism" there lie deep gaps.

In the English-speaking countries, a rather elementary approach to the history of nineteenth century art has been widely adopted in classrooms and handbooks. It amounts to little more than a crude and convenient schematism, based on the French "mainstream" and a succession of great names. Disdainful of peripheral currents or minor artists, this view presents nineteenth century art as one continuous forward sweep, progressing through a series of dramatic conflicts: the romantics defeat the classicists and academics; they are in turn overcome by the realists; Impressionism rises triumphant, but is outstripped by Neo- and Post-Impressionism. Like relay-runners, a narrow file of

great artists, nearly all French, passes the torch of progress from hand to hand, to light with it, at last, the fireworks of twentieth century painting.

It is easy enough to confuse this ideal abstraction with actual history, though on closer reflection its diagrammatic simplicity appears a little improbable. The general history of European art in the nineteenth century cannot, after all, be reduced to this orderly symmetry of progress and reaction, or to any convergence of all efforts on one main line and direction. It is also not possible to encompass the abundance and complexity of nineteenth century art in an abbreviated account of the French development in that period. Nor can we justify such a radical simplification on the ground that it sums up everything of value and consequence. One reason why developments outside the French "mainstream" have so long been neglected, one suspects, is that they upset the handy generalizations to which we have become addicted. Our schematization of nineteenth century art seems to be based not so much on a broad view of history, or on a careful critical assessment, as on a point of teaching convenience. The minor masters or peripheral currents which it overlooks have not been judged and found wanting: they are simply unknown. Our generalizations often rest not on selection, but on ignorance. How many American historians of art interested in the nineteenth century have actually studied with care works by Kobke, Ward, Granet, Dillis, Blechen, or Wasmann? Such artists as these are obscure to most of us, hence "unimportant." Nevertheless, they were very good painters, and sooner or later we shall have to pay some attention to their work, if only to get a better insight into the work of the "major" artists (of which our knowledge is far from complete).

Both books under review have in common a broader, more inclusive view of European nineteenth century art than is customary. Both try to achieve this despite stringent limitations of space and despite the fact that they are addressed to general readers, rather than to specialists. In other words, they attempt to present an unfamiliar and difficult view with the utmost brevity to a public composed of laymen. It is not surprising that they should have received severe criticism.

In his *Painting and Sculpture in Europe, 1780-1880*, Dr. Fritz Novotny strives, laudably enough, for a wide, encompassing view of the whole of continental European art in the century that extends from David to Cezanne. He spurns the easy and familiar way; he does not present another pat account of the French development, rounded out with generalities about other countries. Had he done so, he would probably have won general applause. Instead, he dwells on the variety of nineteenth century art and pays some attention to the work of Swiss, Italian, and Bohemian painters, thereby infuriating his critics who, never having heard of these men, consider them insignificant. In any other field within the history of art, attention to the unfamiliar or remote is considered a mark of scholarship. In the study of nineteenth century art, minute and

comprehensive scholarship has not yet become the fashion. Dr. Novotny deserves credit for having attempted to cover neglected areas and for introducing his readers to artists whose work is never included in conventional handbooks. The chief value of his book lies in this enlargement of scope.

Its main defects result from lack of space. Forming part of the Penguin series of art-historical handbooks, the book suffers from restrictions which must have been imposed by editorial necessity. In no more than 239 pages of text, Dr. Novotny deals with more than 600 artists. The text sags under a crushing weight of names. To the general reader, for whom the Penguin series seems to be intended, some of these name-studded paragraphs, unaccompanied by illustrations or amplifying explanations, must pose formidable obstacles. In striving for full coverage, Dr. Novotny has used up too many precious pages with listings and enumerations. Had he restricted the multitude of names and works mentioned, and concentrated on a selection of the most representative figures, he would have gained space in which to attempt a less cramped characterization of the various national schools.

In presenting a vast panorama in miniature format—and this is what Dr. Novotny's task amounts to—the allotment of space to individual artists or to movements and schools assumes a critical importance. Every paragraph, almost every line, counts for something in the general distribution of emphasis. The author is forced into very precise calculations, lest some personal preoccupation or some difficulty of exposition betray him into errors of proportion that might fatally affect the total picture. Since one of the aims of Dr. Novotny's book is evidently the presentation of a total European, rather than the customary, one-sided, French view, he was bound to enlarge the space given to art outside France, at the expense of that lion's share normally given to French art. This in itself would have disturbed many readers, but it could have been justified as a necessary correction. Unfortunately, he has allowed his own interests to sway him too far in the opposite direction, and the result is a fairly disastrous reversal of the conventional Francophile distortion. Of the scant 200 pages of text given over to painting, no fewer than 103 are devoted to German or Austrian artists, only 76 to the French, and the remainder to the Spaniards, Scandinavians, Italians, Dutch, Swiss, and Slavs. Individually, several of the great French painters still stand out—David, Gericault, Delacroix, Corot, Courbet, Daumier, and Manet, in particular—but collectively the Germans by sheer weight of space and numbers dominate the scene. The total absence of English painters, a condition imposed on Dr. Novotny by the general plan of the Penguin series which provides for a separate volume on nineteenth century English art, makes this disproportion seem all the more glaring. If the 103 pages assigned to German painting could have been divided between the German and English painters, the distribution of coverage would have been

more nearly balanced, and 76 pages assigned to French art would not have appeared inadequate.

As it stands, the book seems biased, its perspective taken too much from the German point of view, so that the century's greatest painters appear as remote eminences seen across a more vivid and detailed foreground-spread of German art. It could be argued, perhaps, that for the English-speaking public this view has the advantage of novelty at least and that its particular bias might serve to counteract our own, contrary bias—but a popular handbook is not the proper place for homeotherapy.

Measured by the number of text pages and of illustrations devoted to him, Delacroix is the most favored artist (6 pages, 11 plates), but Adolf Menzel runs a very close second (5½ pages, 8 plates, 2 text illustrations). Ingres receives 2½ pages of text and 7 plates, about the same as Leibl (2½ pages, 6 plates), but less than Friedrich (3½ pages), Runge (4 pages) and Marées (4 pages). Degas and Renoir receive two pages each, the same amount as Waldmüller and a little less than Blechen. These purely quantitative measurements do not, perhaps, accurately reflect Dr. Novotny's actual evaluations of the various artists. He certainly does not disparage the French painters to boost the Germans, and there is nothing in the text to suggest, for example, that he considers Blechen a better or a more important painter than Degas. The cumulative effect of his treatment, however, is to diminish the visibility, if not the stature, of major French painters.

Pressed by lack of space, Dr. Novotny must have faced a difficult choice in planning the general composition of his book: should he strive for particularity and inclusiveness, and bring into the discussion as many individual artists as could be crowded into these pages? Or should he stress a more general discussion of historical and stylistic developments? Either one of these approaches could be taken only at the expense of the other. Dr. Novotny very definitely chose particularity and inclusiveness; some sections of his book read like pages from a biographical dictionary. Inevitably, he had to sacrifice discussions of style and of historical background, but perhaps this renunciation need not have been quite so radical. The book's analyses of style are rudimentary in the extreme, and there is virtually no attempt to relate the artists and their work to the political and social realities of their time. Art is treated in a void. The Revolution, the Empire, the Restoration, the emergence of new classes and nations, the rise of industries and of colonial empires, the wars and civil disorders pass by unnoticed. We hear nothing of the art policies of governments, nothing of middle-class patronage, of Salons, of dealers, or of the press. There is no discussion of the social status of artists, of class attitudes toward art, or of political beliefs reflected in art. It would be unreasonable to expect an extended treatment of background material, but even a very brief survey of nineteenth century art must surely acknowledge the existence of these factors and their in-

fluence on the development of art. How can classicism be understood without knowledge of its ideological roots? How can we assess the differences between German and French romanticism (a problem which interests Dr. Novotny) without paying attention to the political implications of romanticism? How can we understand David, Daumier, or Courbet, without taking an interest in the political causes that moved them?

The subdivision of the text into historical phases offers no very unusual features. Classicism, Romanticism, Realism, and Impressionism are the headings which mark, conventionally enough, the main stations in the development of nineteenth century painting. Classicism-Romanticism are assigned appreciably more space than Realism-Impressionism; Impressionism receives very brief treatment, since the book closes with the year 1880. Somewhat unusual is the stress which Dr. Novotny puts on the current of bourgeois "naturalism," which was a fairly international phenomenon in the early decades of the century. Two chapters are given over to what he calls "Biedermeier Naturalism" and to "German Biedermeier Romanticism." They bring together German, Austrian, and Scandinavian artists of rather diverse tendencies: Waldmüller, Rayski, and Blechen, on the one hand, with their orientation toward optical reality; Schwind and Richter, on the other, with their narrative and archaizing tendencies; Rethel, with his eclectic mural style, seems rather a misfit in this group. As Dr. Novotny describes them, it is not always easy to see the bond which unites these "little masters." Nor is it very clear where, within the larger context of the historical development, he would put the current of "Biedermeier Naturalism" which cuts across his main classifications of classicism, romanticism, and realism. Actually, he could have expanded this particular section of his book by admitting to it the "Biedermeier" painters of France—not only such men as Cochereau or Drolling, but also the young Corot. Whether or not the term "Biedermeier Naturalism" is a fortunate choice, the current which it describes was an important branch of the romantic movement and one of its most thoroughly international manifestations, equally at home in England as in Germany, Scandinavia, and France. Novotny is justified in giving it some prominence and in discussing, in this connection, the scandalously neglected painters of Denmark.

Of a more doubtful value is the distinction between "Romantic" and "Romantique" which Dr. Novotny introduces into his discussion of romanticism. Romanticism, according to him, is a term which properly applies to German art, while for the work of Gericault and Delacroix "the term 'Romantisme' has been coined to emphasize both its fundamental difference from German Romanticism, and the fact that it is the French form of Romanticism." Actually, this labeling seems merely to beg the question of *what* precisely is the difference between the two romanticisms. Dr. Novotny, at any rate, never manages to clarify this point. "The profound difference between German and French

Romanticism," he asserts, "is clearly visible and lies mainly in the fact that 'Romantisme' had no professed philosophy and no tendency toward the abstract." But in the next sentence we learn that "the peculiarity of Gericault's own art lies in its relationship to Classicism. Here, however strange the statement may seem, a remarkable affinity exists with the art of Runge. There is in the work of both artists the urge to codify the boundless, to reduce human beings (and in Gericault's case animals too) to types. In the case of both, however, the hankering after the classic is a romantic dream; for the opposing forces were too strong."

The reader is left in some confusion: expecting to be shown the profound, clearly visible difference between the German "romantic" and the French "romantique," he is told of an affinity between them. The special quality of "Romantisme" at any rate remains obscure. The passage immediately continues to a further, even more distracting, digression: "In Gericault they (i.e. the 'opposing forces' of the previous sentence) are expressed in a wild agitation of gesture, drawing, and dramatic light. All three can be traced back to direct study of phenomena, and this brings him nearer to Goya, to whom he is essentially most closely akin. The only thing he lacks is Goya's vision—but that Gericault's heightening of the reality of life to a point of soaring passion can be called Romantic, at least in the broader sense of the term, can hardly be doubted. Down toward the very end his art is full of youthful fire and his style declamatory. Toward the end, it is true, the Romantic element assumes a special, quieter, and deeper form in the series of portraits of mental patients. . . ."

Considering the fact that the distinction between "romantic" and "Romantique" is the basic classifying generalization which underlies Dr. Novotny's treatment of romanticism, this discussion is unsatisfactory, being both meager and unclear; one wonders what the "general reader" would make of it. Dr. Novotny returns to this discussion only once more, in connection with "the problem of Delacroix's specific brand of Romanticism": "As a Romantic, he had to subordinate his art to emotion and to a striving after a vision of the 'infinite.' The former he achieved to a greater extent than perhaps any other painter of his time; contradictory though it may sound, he deliberately indulged in passionate emotion and at the same time subjected it to a strict critical control. As regards the conception of the 'infinite' in his 'Romantisme,' it does not merely differ from German Romanticism in the same way that the French conception differs from the German. When a German Romantic tried, in an individual picture, to create a microcosm as a symbol of the immeasurable, he did it by means of accumulation and multiplicity. Idea and feeling, narrative and symbol, were made subservient to this aim. Delacroix's method was simpler in that he utilized the impression of pure form in a more unequivocal way, in order to convert the microcosm of the individual work into an image of the universal."

Even a close and patient rereading of these passages is apt to leave the reader in doubt as to Dr. Novotny's notion of romantic art in general and of "Romantisme" in particular. For one thing, the discussion is shot through with apparent contradictions: in the initial passage quoted, it is asserted that "Romantisme" differs from German romanticism in that it lacks a "professed philosophy" and a "tendency toward the abstract." But this statement is immediately deprived of most of its meaning by the remark that Gericault, a chief "Romantique," and Runge, an outstanding German romantic, really resemble one another in their common "urge to codify the boundless" and to reduce "human beings to types," in other words, their tendency toward abstraction. In the second passage, the German romantics turn out to be accumulators of particulars, while the "Romantique" Delacroix uses "pure form"—undoubtedly gained through abstraction of a highly philosophical sort—to arrive at an "image of the universal." The original assertion about "Romantic" and "Romantique" has been turned upside-down, and the tired reader is ready to give up the battle. The more superficial reader, in fact, is more likely to persevere and, spared some of the worst jolts, to emerge at the end with some sort of general impression.

The examples given are, unfortunately, entirely typical of Dr. Novotny's treatment. The main concepts which underlie his book's organization—classicism, romanticism, "Romantisme," Biedermeier, naturalism, realism, Impressionism—never become definite enough to be grasped. In a tortuous pattern of assertion and retraction, of hopeful starts that blur out into *non-sequiturs*, his argumentation progresses haltingly, a zigzag trickle lost among the mounds of names and dates. He couches his discussion in terms that are abstract and opaque, far removed from the realms of lived life, of history, of politics or social reality, and equally far from the actual experience of art. His observations are sometimes illuminating in detail—as is, for example, the unexpected suggestion of an affinity between Gericault and Runge—but they are too disconnected to become effective. A book so fragmented and fact-laden as this needs a stronger bond of argument and of bracketing generalization to hold together the great mass of particulars.

In the brief introduction, Dr. Novotny proposes several main themes which could provide the guiding lines for a survey of nineteenth century art. He refers to the current of naturalism and the counter-current of idealism; to the search for a style which might reconcile ideality and reality; to the evolution of landscape toward optical analysis, and of portraiture toward psychological expression, and, finally, to the effects on art of progressive individualism in thought and feeling. All of these are important points which might have served as framework for his presentation, but in the main body of his text Dr. Novotny fails to develop them with any thoroughness or coherence. Instead of stressing the continuity of main developments, he sketches a multitude of separate artistic individualities.

His book is a string of thumbnail characterizations, each a static miniature image. Unfortunately these portraits are not revealing enough to compensate us for the lack of a more continuous general discussion. They are marred by the same convoluted intricacies of style, the same hesitant pace—one step forward, two steps back—and the same inconsistencies which make it so difficult to follow his definition of "Romantisme" and of other key ideas. The beginning of his account of Courbet provides a typical example of his method: "In the work of Gustave Courbet, after all the widespread attempts and aspirations towards realism since the beginning of the nineteenth century, painting at last became in the very core of its being 'realistic.' According to the classification of art historians Courbet is the first great Realist among the painters of the nineteenth century, and we feel instinctively that this opinion is correct. Courbet and Realism are two concepts which will probably be considered synonymous for all time." A characteristic retraction immediately follows: "Certain peculiarities may give us cause for hesitation, but they cannot change this view; they lead us rather to a better definition of Realism in painting. One of these peculiarities is Courbet's affinity to many of the great schools of the past, in particular to the Spanish school, to Velazquez and Zurbaran, and to that of the Netherlands, above all Frans Hals and Rembrandt." And a second backward step: "There is also the fact that Courbet's Realism is completely independent of the exact illustration of details. It is even true to say that for a long time Courbet did not bother much about 'correctness' and consistency in one great field of reality, that of the phenomena of light. Hundreds of painters before him had made a study of light in a far more differentiated way than he did, and the painters of the Barbizon school went on studying it in his day. But to the end of his life Courbet showed a predilection for the old system of starting from the dark and working towards the light. In his pictures the figures, the rocks, the fruits and flowers of his still-lives are either set in a diffused light, so that the heavy volumes of the bodies do not seem to have any special reference to the lighting, or else, when the lighting appears to be more open and independent, it is primarily there either for the sake of the bodies, as it is for example in Caravaggio and Zurbaran, or, to go even further, to emphasize the aggressive mass and weight of material things."

At this point, the original statement that Courbet was "the first great Realist" seems forgotten. A diversion follows: "Only in some of the most powerful landscapes of his later period do light and matter have equal value and interpenetrate one another. Thus a new unity is achieved, and in the resulting supreme painterly domination of everything material Courbet is on a par with Corot, despite the profound difference in their characters. In Courbet the unity appears as the result of a display of strength." This last, puzzling assertion is capped by a striking *non-sequitur*:

"In fact he loved to brag about his physical strength." After this we suddenly are brought back to the theme

of Realism: "and this may help us to understand the arrogant animality of the living beings and the heavy power of all matter in his pictures. These were what Courbet meant by 'reality.' In order to demonstrate them, he also needed the tranquillity of contemplation, and this he possessed from the very beginning."

As these various samples indicate, Dr. Novotny writes a thorny prose. Some of the fault may lie with the translation—long stretches of the text seem varnished over with a half-opaque medium through which it is difficult to penetrate. Misreading is a constant danger: "Thus the content of Delacroix's work follows the lines of German, and indeed international, narrative idealism, of German Late Romanticism, that is of Cornelius, Rethel, and Kaulbach, and of the Belgian historical painters round Wappers before the middle of the century." The mind reels at this assertion: Delacroix a follower of Kaulbach? of Wappers? It is only on closer rereading that one discovers that this is not what the sentence is actually intended to mean. It suggests, rather, a parallel between Delacroix and German Late Romanticism. But the strength of the verb "follows" and the surprising mention of the German and Belgian artists in this particular context deceive even the fairly attentive reader. How the casual and uninformed reader would interpret this sentence can easily be imagined.

In his handling of factual detail, Dr. Novotny has exercised evident care to avoid errors. But, considering the vastness of the material which he treats, it was perhaps inevitable that some errors—of classification, of biographical fact, of attribution or date—should elude his watchfulness. It is unfortunate, for instance, that he has included in his chapter on French classicism such decidedly anti-classical artists as Charlet, Raffet, Isabey, and Delaroche—and one can well imagine Horace Vernet's exasperated oath on finding himself under the heading of "David's Pupils and Followers." Napoleon did not fight at Aboukir and is not glorified in Gros' famous painting of that battle (page 16). The *Besançon Bather* which reminds Dr. Novotny of Courbet is not a late work of Gros, but one of the very earliest known, having been painted around 1791 in David's studio (page 16). The *Maraichere* and the portrait of *Michel Gerard with his Children* (page 10 and plate 3) are no longer accepted among David's authentic works, nor has the *Retreat from Moscow* (page 94) found general acceptance as a "grandiose sketch" by Gericault. Wappers' *Episode of the Revolution of 1830* (page 139) was painted in 1834, not 1853. J. L. Agasse, despite Thieme-Becker, was not a pupil of Horace Vernet (page 50), who was only eleven years old when Agasse left Paris, but possibly of Carle Vernet. Henri Monnier was never in any true sense a "follower of Daumier" (page 154), but a highly original artist in his own right. Menzel's *Rolling Mill* can hardly be described as an "anecdotal picture" (page 162), nor does Raffet's lithograph reproduced on page 13 come from any *Vie de Napoleon* published in 1826-27. One is surprised, finally, to

find no mention in the extensive bibliography of such fundamental studies as L. Rosenthal's *La peinture romantique* and *Du romantisme au réalisme*.

The illustrations, indifferently reproduced, are on the whole very well chosen and include many works of high quality that are not usually included in books of this kind.

Marcel Brion's *Romantic Art* grew out of the exhibition of the same name held in London, under the auspices of the Council of Europe, during 1959. M. Brion has not limited himself to works shown on that occasion, but has included his own choices and expanded the scope of his book beyond that of the exhibition by adding chapters on architecture and on American art. Physically, this is an impressive volume, of large dimensions and very substantial heft, printed on heavy gray paper, which is evidently intended to heighten the effect of the color reproductions. A rich spread of large illustrations, both in color and in monochrome, is the book's dominant feature. The actual text amounts to a brief essay on romantic art, about fifty pages in length, which is interleaved with the plates and the extended notes that accompany them. The commentary is thus rather modestly subordinated to the pictures. The reader or, rather, viewer is made to feel like the visitor at a gallery who, absorbed in what he sees on the walls, pays halfhearted attention to the running commentary of his guide. M. Brion's text resembles in effect a gallery talk addressed to laymen. But the book also holds something of interest for students of art history. Like Dr. Novotny, M. Brion aims for a more inclusive coverage than is customary, and he has included among his plates—particularly in the German, Scandinavian, and English sections—some little-known drawings and paintings.

Since its emphasis is on visual presentation, M. Brion's *Romantic Art* must primarily be judged on this score. How authentic is the portrait of romanticism which this picture gallery presents? In scanning it broadly, one receives a curiously diffuse and spotty impression—no very clear-cut features emerge. In part, this may be an effect inherent in romanticism itself, in its diversity of themes and of styles. But in a large measure it results here from the particular selection of works through which M. Brion introduces us to romanticism.

His selection is very wide, but in a number of important places quite thin. Delacroix, for example, receives only three color plates—*Liberty Leading the People*, *The Abduction of Rebecca* (Metropolitan Museum), and a detail from the *Massacre of Chios*—which do not adequately represent him. Ingres is given only one plate, the *Portrait of Granet*. Corot is allowed only one, *The Letter* (Metropolitan Museum), which surely does not give any idea of his range—the book does not contain a single landscape by Corot. In the brief section devoted to romantic sculpture, we find a miscellany of work by such artists as Fogelberg, Felicie de Fauveau, and William Wetmore Story, but nothing by David d'Angers, Barye, or Daumier. The German

section is the least inadequate; Friedrich, with four quite representative color plates and two drawings in black and white, is the most favored artist in the book. The allotment of two plates to Spitzweg seems rather generous, considering that Daumier receives only one. An odd feature of the English section is the inclusion of a quite unromantic double portrait by Gainsborough, *The Morning Walk* (National Gallery, London). Of Bonington's work, on the other hand, only a small black and white reproduction appears. Goya is very feebly represented, and so are the Italians. The most distorted impression is given by the brief Scandinavian section, which perversely features such minor talents as Wahlbohm, Cramer, Gyllich, Brunn, and Ahlgrenson, while it does not illustrate the work of Eckersberg, Købke, Jensen, or Lundbye at all.

In general, *Romantic Art* presents an ill-balanced and oddly haphazard collection of illustrations. It manages not only to diminish the stature of Delacroix, Ingres, Daumier, and Corot, it fails to bring out the special quality and character of the various national manifestations of romanticism. To the historically minded reader, the total lack of chronological order in the arrangement of the plates is a constant irritation. In the English section, for instance, the sequence of color plates is the following: Ward, Wright, Stubbs, Gainsborough, Martin, Blake; in the French section, we begin even more capriciously with Chasseriau, to progress to Courbet, Corot, Ingres, Daubigny, Rousseau, Gros, Girodet, Gericault, Delacroix, Daumier. The sequences are so bizarre that one is constantly tempted to search for some hidden significance in them. But in vain; the final conclusion is that the illustrations must have been rather casually and perhaps hastily assembled, with very little regard for any logic of sequence. It is striking that very few of the paintings discussed in the main text are illustrated; while on the other hand very few of the illustrated works are actually mentioned in the text. The long descriptive captions accompanying the plates fail to bridge this awkward gap; they constitute, rather, a second text, breaking the continuity of the first, repeating it in some parts, actually contradicting it in others.

The fairly brief main text addresses itself frankly to the lay reader. It consists of an Introduction, a chapter on Architecture and Sculpture, and separate chapters on painting in England, Germany, France, the other European countries, and the United States. In the Introduction, M. Brion stresses the difficulty of arriving at any general definition of romanticism. Romanticism does not "reveal itself if approached dialectically or by reasoning; only through an immediate and total communion with its spirit can one penetrate to its real depths." This seems a rather resigned point of departure for a history of romantic art. M. Brion invites the reader to apprehend romanticism subjectively, through intuition. "One can learn more about the nature and essence of Romanticism from a Schumann symphony, a Caspar David Friedrich landscape or *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* than from any scholarly disquisition on the subject"—true enough,

provided that "one" possesses critical insight based on knowledge, in addition to a lively sensibility.

A scholarly disquisition, at any rate, is not what M. Brion intended to give, and it is perhaps unfair to criticize his elegant improvisation for its lack of historical substance and its occasional lapses from scholarly accuracy. By way of facilitating his readers' total communion with the spirit of romanticism, he provides a few suggestive generalizations to characterize the temper of romantic art: "restlessness, yearning, the idea of growth, self-identification with nature, infinite distance, solitude, tragedy of existence and the inaccessibility of the ideal . . . sensibility allowed to predominate over reason, a spirit of revolt . . . rebellion against the established order . . . stormy longing for independence. . . ." It is all very familiar, and in its sweeping rush of imprecise attributes it seems an appropriately "romantic" characterization. Compared to Dr. Novotny's tormented prose, M. Brion's flows with speed and force. The book is very readable; it will neither jolt nor baffle the general reader.

But will it really enlighten him? The handling of factual material throughout the book is excessively cavalier. Gross errors abound and the presentation is not only brisk, but quite often garbled. The strange account of the Nazarenes, on pages 90-94, is a fairly typical example of this, a jumble of fact and error which cannot be disentangled within the space of a brief review. The unwary reader is told that the Southern German artists in particular elected Copenhagen as their place of study (p. 90) and that Peter Cornelius founded the *Lucasbund* (p. 93). One wonders from what source these mistakes were gathered. Amusingly enough, in the midst of some rather broad popularizing, M. Brion puts on a display of esoteric learning. In the course of his description of the intellectual climate in which German romanticism developed, he cites the names of some supposedly influential figures: Ennemoser, Lorenz Oken, Dr. Malcus, Ritter J. J. Wagner, Gotthilf Heinrich von Schubert, Ignatius Paul Vital Troxler, Gottfried Reinhold Treviranus, Johann Baptist Friedrich, Wilhelm Butte, and the mesmerist Eschenmeyer. It is a list that will impress the average reader, who has certainly never heard of these men, and amaze the specialist, who realizes their remoteness from art and wonders why M. Brion has failed, at this point, to name such really influential authors as Wackenroder and Tieck.

In a book so sumptuously turned out as this, the technical quality of the color plates should meet exacting standards. Unfortunately, as in so many other fairly expensive books of this kind, the ambitious presentation is not matched by careful accuracy in the color reproduction of paintings. The opulent package contains an indifferent assortment of plates. Some appear to be reasonably true, some are barely adequate, others err on the side of a pronounced greenishness and have a disagreeably coarse grain.

LORENZ EITNER
University of Minnesota

LIST OF BOOKS RECEIVED

- ACKERMAN, JAMES S., *The Architecture of Michelangelo*, New York, Viking Press, 1961. I, 156 pp.; 14 figs.; 83 pls.; II, Catalogue, 155 pp. \$12.50 each volume.
- ANDERSON, DONALD M., *Elements of Design*, New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961. Pp. 281; 212 figs. \$5.00.
- ARNASON, H. H., *Directions in Modern Painting*, New York, Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, 1961. Pp. 25.
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- BENESCH, EVA, *Otto Benesch; Verzeichnis seiner Schriften*, Bern, Klipstein & Kornfeld, 1961. Pp. 37; 1 pl.
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- BILLE, CLARA, *De Tempel der Kunst of het Kabinet van den Heer Braamcamp*, Amsterdam, J. H. de Bussy N.V., 1961. I, 252 pp.; 313 figs.; II, 146 pp. Fl. 65.
- BOËTHIUS, GERDA, *Zorn; Swedish Painter and World Traveller*, New York, Taplinger, 1959. Pp. 157; 56 pls.; 28 color pls. \$12.50.
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- Budapest, National Museum, *Manet; Hölgy Legyezövel*, Budapest, 1961. Pp. 24; 14 pls. (Catalogue)
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- , *Bulletin*, no. 18, Budapest, 1961. Pp. 152; many figs.
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- CLEMENTS, ROBERT J., *Michelangelo's Theory of Art*, New York, New York University Press, 1961. Pp. 471; 21 pls. \$10.00.
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- CRAVEN, ROY C., JR., *Indian Sculpture in the John and Mabel Ringling Museum of Art*, Gainesville, University of Florida Press, 1961. Pp. 28; 18 figs.; 17 pls. \$2.00 (University of Florida Monographs; Humanities, no. 6, 1961)
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- EITNER, LORENZ, *Introduction to Art; an Illustrated Topical Manual*, Minneapolis, Burgess Publishing Co., 1961. Pp. 131; many figs. \$2.75.
- FORMAGGIO, DINO, *Goya*, New York, Thomas Yoseloff, 1961. Pp. 8; 34 pls.; 30 color pls. \$5.95. (The Gallery of Great Masters Series)
- FRANCK, FREDERICK, *African Sketchbook*, New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961. Pp. 180; many figs. \$5.95.
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- POPE, MARCEL, *The Art of Roman Gaul*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1961. Pp. 78; 259 pls.
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- STERLING, CHARLES and HÉLÈNE ADHEMAR, *La Peinture au Musée du Louvre. École française, XIX^e siècle. IV, P-Z*, Paris, Services commerciaux de la réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1961. Pp. 135; 576 figs.; 10 color pls. NF 60.
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- SUSINNO, FRANCESCO, *Le vite de' pittori Messinesi*, ed. by Valentino Martinelli, Florence, Felice Le Monnier, 1960. Pp. 331; 24 pls. Lire 3500. (Università di Messina, Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto di storia dell'arte medioevale e moderna, Facoltà di lettere e filosofia, I)
- TAPIÉ, VICTOR-L., *The Age of Grandeur*, New York, Praeger, 1961. Pp. 305; 195 figs.; 8 color pls. Cloth, \$12.50; paper, \$3.95.
- UNESCO Catalogue of Colour Reproductions of Paintings, 1860 to 1961, New York, Columbia University Press, 1961. Pp. 487, many figs. \$6.00. (6th ed.)

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

SIR:

May I add to professor Sumner Mc K. Crosby's memorial note (ART BULLETIN, XLIII, 1961, pp. 255-256) that the late Ernst Gall was also one of the three members of the editorial board of the monthly *Kunstchronik*, which I edited from 1948 to 1953. It is almost impossible to assess how much *Kunstchronik*, founded in 1948, profited from Ernst Gall's knowledge and wisdom. He took a very active interest in the periodical, and I gratefully remember his advice and his suggestions, which invariably resulted in improvements. To work with Ernst Gall was a highly rewarding experience: he was succinct and sometimes abrupt but always impartial; it was his very nature to go without *ado medias in res*.

WOLFGANG LOTZ
Institute of Fine Arts
New York University

ADDENDUM:

ERNST GALL'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO *Kunstchronik*

ARTICLES

- Necrology for August Grisebach, III, 1950, pp. 113-114
Das Schicksal des Berliner Schlosses, *ibid.*, pp. 205-207
Balthasar Neumann Ausstellung in Würzburg, VI, 1953, pp. 201-203
Abstract of paper on "Westwerkfragen," read at the Fünfter Deutscher Kunsthistorikertag, Hannover, 1954, VII, 1954, pp. 274-276

BOOK REVIEWS

- G. Bandmann, *Die Bauformen des Mittelalters*, III, 1950, pp. 73-76
A. Macku, *Grundlagen für das Studium der Baugeschichte*, *ibid.*, pp. 76-77
H. Lützel, *Bildwörterbuch der Kunst*, *ibid.*, pp. 244-245
H. Sedlmayr, *Die Geburt der Kathedrale*, IV, 1951, pp. 14-21 and pp. 330-332
M. H. von Freeden, *Balthasar Neumann*, VI, 1953, pp. 346-347
E. Panofsky, *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism*, *ibid.*, pp. 42-44
A. Erler, *Das Strassburger Münster im Rechtsleben des Mittelalters*, VII, 1954, pp. 315-316
P. Hofer, *Die Wehrbauten Berns*, *ibid.*, pp. 66-68
C. von Lörck, *Ostpreussische Gutshäuser: Bauform und Kulturgehalt*, *ibid.*, pp. 20-21
A. Blunt, *Art and Architecture in France 1500-1700*, VIII, 1955, pp. 52-54
A. Mottat, *La Collégiale Sainte Gertrude de Nivelles*, *ibid.*, p. 69
N. Carboneri, *L'Architetto Francesco Gallo, 1672-1750*, *ibid.*, pp. 204-209
Die Kunstdenkmäler der Schweiz, Kanton Aargau III, Kloster Königsfelden; Kanton Luzern III, Stadt Luzern, *ibid.*, pp. 228-229
S. Asche, *Die Wartburg*, IX, 1956, pp. 95-100
Die Kunstdenkmäler der Schweiz, Kanton Thurgau, vol. II und Neuchâtel, vol. I, *ibid.*, pp. 14-19
Die Kunstdenkmäler der Schweiz, Kanton Luzern, vol. IV und Fribourg, vol. II, X, 1957, pp. 39-40

SIR:

Dr. Horst de la Croix is to be congratulated on entering a field so difficult and neglected as military architecture, yet so significant.¹ I feel however that I must challenge some of his observations. One is his view that "the (radial) plan's aesthetic potential was tentatively exploited by Leonardo, Fra Giocondo, and Baldassare Peruzzi." Surely these architects went no further than Filarete had gone. Fra Giocondo—if the drawing is by him and there is no proof that it is—hardly goes beyond him; all he does is to see how such a plan would work out if built. Also, I do not see why Peruzzi's plan should be regarded as in any way more valuable aesthetically, nor can I see Leonardo's influence on the development of Milan: all that happened there was that when the town became too small, a ring was built round the city, as had also been done in Vienna or Paris, and elsewhere.

To turn to the central theme of the paper and the question whether Filarete arrived at his radial plan by accident: I do not think that he did, but in any case the fact remains that he was its inventor. Dr. de la Croix implicitly admits as much when he says that Filarete's plan was *rationalized* and *converted* into a practical design by Francesco di Giorgio, or that the plan was *revived* by military architects (my italics).

The reason why Dr. de la Croix tries so hard to divest Filarete of the paternity of the radial plans seems to derive from his conviction of a functional origin of this plan. He therefore makes the following statement, which I find untenable: "Despite claims of precedence which have been made for Filarete, the fact remains that Francesco (di Giorgio) was the first who actually designed a radial city plan. While Filarete described in his *Trattato* a city plan which must perforce be interpreted as radial, he was unable to represent his mental concept in graphic terms." Surely it is the idea that counts, not the actual representation on paper; but this is also there, as the author admits in note 30.

I am sorry that Dr. de la Croix tries to dispose of my theory of the origin of the radial plan simply by saying in some vague terms that priority had been claimed for Filarete without going into any details, and in addition that he quotes a few words of my paper out of context. May I therefore be permitted to quote the whole paragraph, which incidentally forms part of a caption: "Filarete's plan of Sforzinda reveals, in spite of its 'magic' origin, all the longings of the Renaissance for an all-round harmony. It had for this reason a very large progeny, although the treatise was never printed before the last century. Moreover, the star-shape suited the requirements of the fortification engineers. An example can be seen in [fig.] 13, which comes from Francesco de Marchi's *Military Architecture* from the second half of the sixteenth century. The tendency here—a tendency yet more obvious in the plans from

¹ "Military Architecture and the Radial City Plan in Sixteenth Century Italy," ART BULLETIN, XLII, 1960, p. 263ff.

Francesco di Giorgio Martini's late fifteenth century *Treatise on Civil and Military Architecture*—is to draw plans as an exercise in pattern making. . . . The variations in their streets and squares are not the outcome of functional differences but simply playful variations of patterns. . . ."

The star-shape no doubt was considered suitable for the purpose in hand, but it was by no means the only pattern used: at least a third of Marchi's plans are not radial, but gridiron plans; some show winding streets, as again Dr. de la Croix had noticed himself. In his advocacy of the functional uses of the star-shape plan he has overlooked that, although the access roads to the bastions in one of Marchi's plans (his fig. 21) are wide and straight, as such streets must be, nevertheless access from them to the bastions is by steps.

With regard to the aesthetic approach of Marchi to town planning, I should like to point out that the changing "perspective" was a feature of mediaeval towns and could have been observed by Marchi in such towns (he seems to have been greatly impressed by "Gothic" towns). If indeed their imitation on Marchi's part was conscious aesthetics one might call him a predecessor of Camillo Sitte. Probably Marchi had also read what Aristotle had to say about crooked streets and he is more likely to have been the "ancient" referred to than Alberti.

S. LANG

SIR:

Thank you for giving me the opportunity to answer Miss Lang's letter which I read with both interest and dismay.

I was gratified to learn that Miss Lang reacted to some of my marginal observations in the hoped-for manner, as they were intended to stimulate interest in some fairly obscure problems that seemed to me to warrant further study. Evidently not all of my suggestions were equally deserving and quite possibly others will be disposed of as easily as my reference to Leonardo's designs in the Codex Atlanticus was by Miss Lang.

My dismay, however, stems from the fact that Miss Lang confronts me not with facts but with differences of opinion, and this makes it most difficult to answer her adequately. For instance, when she feels that the Anonymous Destailleur (who may or may not have been Fra Giocondo) did not go beyond Filarete in developing the radial scheme in a city plan, then her point of view obviously differs from mine, for I feel that he has taken a long step indeed beyond Filarete. While Filarete's plan does reveal "all the longings of the Renaissance for an all-round harmony," as Miss Lang put it so well in her article (and I hope she will pardon me for quoting her out of context), I think that the Anonymous Destailleur has done much more than just reveal a longing. He presents, in terms that are as concrete as a graphic representation can make them, one solution to Filarete's unsolved problem that is both final and complete as an expression of Renaissance formal aspirations.

The point that seems to vex Miss Lang more than any other is my observation that Filarete was not the first to design a radial city plan. I did not deny that Filarete described a plan in his text that must be interpreted as being radial. I did state that Francesco di Giorgio was the first who actually drew such a plan, and I don't see how Miss Lang can deny this fact. Filarete seemingly reached a dead end when he found himself unable to combine his envisioned radial street network with the traditional rectangular piazze which he designed for the center of his city. Far from solving the problem, the silverpoint lines on the plan in the Codex Magliabecchianus, which may be no more than construction aids (cf. Miss Lang's reference to my note 30), only accentuate Filarete's dilemma. In this respect, I can find very little room for argument.

The scope widens considerably, however, if the question of the priority of an idea over a practical solution is raised; then it again becomes a matter of opinion that can be argued at length and fruitlessly if the protagonists depart from different premises. My position can be summarized in a question: Are the ancient Greeks to be credited with the invention of the airplane because they conceived the legend of Icarus? Or, if this question seems to carry the argument *ad absurdum*, a more moderate example may serve. I do not think that many people consider Leonardo da Vinci the airplane's inventor; his designs, after all, did not work. I feel that the same is true of Filarete's design for "Sforzinda." It contains elements which are mutually exclusive and which, for all practical purposes, render it useless. Francesco di Giorgio, on the other hand, did design a plan which was both complete and practicable and which, in fact, was basic for many later plans of radial cities. Still, I concede that there may be room left for argument. However, the arguments will have to be more convincing than Miss Lang's before I am ready to abandon my position.

I was disappointed to learn that Miss Lang felt that the central theme of my paper was the question whether Filarete arrived at his radial plan by accident and I fervently hope that not too many other readers were left with the same impression. I intentionally side-stepped the whole problem of the radial plan's origin as a subject much too complex and controversial to be dealt with in the introduction to the main theme, which dealt with the fate of the central type plan after it was adopted by the military architect during the sixteenth century. The suggestion that Filarete may have arrived at his plan accidentally was made in a footnote (note 29) in the spirit of presenting an alternative to various other speculations, including Miss Lang's, which may or may not have more validity.

As for quoting Miss Lang out of context, is there any other way short of summarizing her entire article? It is important that the original author was not misquoted nor misinterpreted. After having read her complete caption again, I am sure that I have done neither. No matter how I look at the paragraph, I get the im-

pression that, from Francesco di Giorgio on, all fifteenth and sixteenth century radial plans are lumped together and referred to as "exercises in pattern making." It is precisely against this interpretation that my paper was directed and I hope that I have shown to the satisfaction of at least some of my readers that these plans, far from being "playful variations of patterns," were the products of practical men who were guided primarily by utilitarian considerations. Significantly, Miss Lang has omitted only one plan from her summary, namely Filarete's, the plan that was never drawn. I am quite certain that had Filarete been able to complete his design, it would have looked just as decorative and "patterned" as any of the later radial plans.

Concerning the use of the "star-shape," I believe I made it clear that it was not at all popular with sixteenth century military architects. While their moats

may make them appear to be star-shaped, the cities on the great majority of sixteenth century theoretical plans have polygonal circumferences, including the one on the De Marchi plan for which Miss Lang's requoted caption was written. Finally, I invite Miss Lang to take another look at Fig. 21, a plan by Castriotto and not De Marchi. I am sure she will recognize that she mistook the shading of the ramps for steps, as a comparison with the flat sister-plan (Fig. 20) will verify.

I sincerely hope that none of the above comments sounds vindictive, as I have no wish to antagonize Miss Lang. On the contrary, I owe Miss Lang a debt of gratitude, since it was her well-written and stimulating article which was partly responsible for setting me on the track of an investigation that I found both interesting and rewarding.

HORST DE LA CROIX
San Jose State College